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DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN WITHIN IMMIGRANT INDIAN AND PAKISTANI COMMUNITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

BY

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THESIS

submitted as partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Social Work
in the Graduate College of the
University of Illinois at Chicago, 2000

Chicago, Illinois

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Dedicated to my parents, Shireen and Mohamed (d. 1988), my sisters, Bintu, Kulsum and Hafiza and my brother, Akbar for their love, support, and faith in me. To my nephews/sons: Zishan, Rahim, Imran and Zachary - you guys bring me the greatest joy and happiness. To PB for the love, laughs and loyalty only you can give.

To Dianne Jones (d. 1998), who remains forever with me.

Dedicated to the Indian and Pakistani women and women everywhere who suffer from domestic violence.

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SUMMARY

Domestic violence against women is increasing in the United States and claims the lives of two thousand while affecting at least four million women annually. At the same time, population data indicate that from 1980 to 1990, the Asian-Indian population increased from 387,000 to 815,447 and the Asian-Pakistani population increased from 16,000 to 81,000. Although these groups have generally achieved economic and professional success in the United States, they are not immune to domestic violence. Despite the knowledge that domestic violence cuts across cultural, religious, and socio-economic boundaries, research on domestic violence against "Asian" communities is sparse and practically non-existent on Indians and Pakistanis in the United States. To fill the gap of knowledge regarding domestic violence against women within immigrant Indian and Pakistani communities in the United States, this research examined the extent of domestic violence against them and explored factors that impact risk for domestic violence within these communities.

Using a convenience non-probability sampling design, the researcher gathered data from Indian and Pakistani women in several states, but most (77%) of the respondents were from Illinois. Ninety-four women who were either Indian or Pakistani and Hindu or Muslim completed a questionnaire, which included a portion of the Revised Conflict Tactic Scale (RCTS) and nine women participated in individual in-depth interviews. The survey demographic analysis revealed that most of the respondents were Indian, 18-35 years old, married, and Muslim. Of those who were married, most had arranged marriages and were reared in India or Pakistan. A majority of the women were college graduates and lived in households with incomes over $40,000.

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The results indicate that for Indian and Pakistani women in the United States, the lifetime prevalence rate for total (Physical, Sexual, Psychological, and Injury) domestic violence is 77% and for the past year it is 68%. The cultural belief that men are superior and the educational level of the victim were two principal factors associated with domestic violence for these groups. A computer (Atlas/ti) model of factors that lead to domestic violence within these communities was also generated from the data.

Abused Indian and Pakistani women encounter a complexity and magnitude of issues that require significant strength, resilience and fortitude for survival. It is imperative that social work practitioners and other mental health professionals become culturally educated so that Indian and Pakistani women can be helped effectively. Additionally, Indian and Pakistani women must be educated on the laws in the United States which protect them so they are less vulnerable to domestic violence. Given the difficulty of conducting research within these communities, Indians and Pakistanis must also be educated on the importance of research efforts within their communities so that problems are understood and alleviated rather than ignored and compounded.

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Domestic violence in the United States is increasing and, by conservative estimates, affects at least four million women annually (Berry, 1995; Taeuber, 1991). This social ill claims the lives of two thousand women each year (Root, 1996) and is the "leading cause of injury to women...in the U.S., surpassing injuries caused by automobile accidents, muggings, and rapes combined" (Schmittroth, 1995). Solely based on gender, a woman is 10 times more likely than a man to experience violence by an intimate partner (U.S. Department of Justice, 1995).

Domestic violence is generally classified into three categories: emotional, physical, and sexual abuse (McCue, 1995) and approximately 95% of the physical and sexual abuse is perpetrated by men against women (U.S. Department of Justice, 1995; Mullender, 1996). This social problem costs society "between $5-10 billion annually in health care expenses, lost wages, litigation, and imprisonment of batterers" (Schmittroth, 1995).

Research on domestic violence has received serious and systematic attention only in the past twenty-five years (Klein, Campbell, Soler, and Ghez, 1997). One of the most fundamental findings is that domestic violence in the U.S. cuts across cultural, religious, and socio-economic boundaries. Despite this knowledge and the fact that Asians are one of the fastest growing ethnic groups in the United States (Asian Women's Health Fact Sheet, 1995;

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Lee, 1998), a majority of domestic violence research efforts have been directed towards understanding it within the mainstream cultural context. Indeed, research about domestic violence within the immigrant Indian and Pakistani communities is practically non-existent.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Between 1980 and 1990, the United States Asian-Indian population increased from 387,000 to 815, 447 while the Asian-Pakistani population increased from 16,000 to 81,000 (Magelorsky, 1997). Although these groups have generally achieved economic and professional success in the United States (Helweg and Helweg, 1990) - the median income is estimated at $44,700 (Magelorsky, 1997) - they are not immune to domestic violence. Perhaps less obvious is the fact that many immigrant Indians and Pakistanis hold fast to their cultural values and beliefs – including the deeply ingrained axiom that women are inferior to men (Miller, 1999; Brandon, 1996; Das Dasgupta and Warrier, 1996; Fernandez, 1997; Ho, 1990; Mumtaz and Shaheed, 1987; Kishwar and Vanita, 1984; Yim, 1978). Such ideas, which arise from a particular type of socialization of both men and women, have significant implications about how women are treated; it is possible that women in these communities suffer greater violence at the hands of their partners than do women from the mainstream groups.

As the immigrant Indian and Pakistani populations increase and assimilate to the United States, they utilize social service resources that are available to society-at-large. However, mainstream organizations have been unable to sufficiently address Indian and

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Pakistani social service needs due to an inadequate cultural understanding (Abraham, 1995). In response, a handful of "Asian" domestic violence organizations formed nationally to fill the void. However, the reality remains that the most easily accessible resources to these immigrant groups are still the mainstream social service providers and professionals. Without systematically researched information, social service professionals are placed in a tenuous position of delivering services without adequate knowledge. To remedy this predicament, it is essential that research efforts be undertaken to address issues specific to the immigrant Indian and Pakistani communities. Further, even the organizations that cater to Indian and Pakistani victims of domestic violence do not support their endeavors with much solid empirical data. Rather, these organizations operate and assist victims of domestic violence based on a broad understanding of shared cultural beliefs of these communities.

Indian and Pakistani women who are abused are placed at further risk due to the lack of information about domestic violence within their communities. For example, it is possible that meaningful dialogue about effective intervention strategies with these groups has been absent or misinformed due to the lack of knowledge about the nature and dynamics of domestic violence within these groups. Absence of information implies that appropriate or adequate interventions cannot be designed to meet the needs of the victims. It is therefore incumbent that Asian and traditional social service organizations be provided with useful and systematically researched information on which to base their practices. In addition, scarcity of information about domestic violence within these immigrant communities has

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direct financial consequences for society-at-large, for example, through health care expenses, imprisonment of batterers and lost wages. Indeed, domestic violence is a social, medical and public health issue (Chester, Robin, Koss, Lopez, and Goldman, 1994).

Throughout this study, the victim is referred to as a woman because this study examines violence against women only. To exclude men as victims is not to minimize or overlook the significance of such violence, but rather this reference considers the fact that women constitute a majority of victims of domestic violence.

This study explored domestic violence against women within immigrant Indian and Pakistani communities in the United States so that social service organizations, professionals, and victims of domestic violence can benefit. Further, this is a beginning, a contribution to a fuller understanding of the immigrant Indian and Pakistan communities in the U.S. and from this study it is hoped that future research regarding the social service needs of these groups may be ignited.

1.3 Purpose of the Study

The broader purpose of this study is to begin to fill the gap of knowledge regarding domestic violence within the immigrant Indian and Pakistani communities. Two specific purposes of this study are: first, to assess the extent of domestic violence against women within these communities and, second, to explore factors which may impact risk for domestic violence within these groups.

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It is not the purpose of this study to demonstrate that the Indian or Pakistani cultures are unique in their treatment of women. Unfortunately, family violence is common around the world, with wife beating being more frequent than any other type of violence (Levinson, 1989). But the cultural contexts within which such violence occurs vary significantly and this study provides a perspective of the Indian and Pakistani cultural context as it impacts violence against women.

1.4 Research Questions

The specific research questions for this study are:

1. What is the extent of domestic violence against women within immigrant Indian and Pakistani communities in the United States?

2. Are there factors which may impact risk for domestic violence against women within immigrant Indian and Pakistani communities in the United States?

The first research question for this study is answered with limitations; the question cannot be answered with the convenience sampling design utilized for this study. However, given our current state of knowledge of domestic violence within the Indian and Pakistani groups, this question is necessary to explore so that it serves as a beginning point for information on these groups. Questions, such as the two for this study, and the methods (survey and a small

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number of in-depth cases) utilized to answer them are consistent with the types of questions and methods which dominated the field of domestic violence during early 1970s, when knowledge about violence was just beginning to develop (Giles-Sims, 1983).

1.5 Definitions of Major Concepts

As a basis for the discussion which follows, the major concepts of this study are defined here. The major concepts of this study are: a) domestic violence b) victim of domestic violence c) perpetrator of domestic violence d) culture e) immigrant f) cultural values and g) Indian and Pakistani communities. For purposes of this study, domestic violence is defined as "the emotional, physical, psychological, or sexual abuse perpetrated against a person by that person's spouse or former spouse" (McCue, 1995, p. 3) which may or may not result in injury. Utilizing this definition, this study is restricted to examining violence committed against women who are or were in intimate relationships with men. Victim of domestic violence is defined as "one who is acted on and is usually adversely affected by a force or agent; one who is injured, destroyed, or sacrificed under any of various conditions; one who is subjected to oppression, hardship or mistreatment (Ganley, 1989, p. 204). Perpetrator of domestic violence is defined as "a person who brings about or carries out or commits a crime" and the crime of interest is domestic violence (Ganley, 1999, p. 204). Culture is defined as the "customs, habits, skills, technology, arts, science, and religious and political behavior of a group of people in a specific time period" (Barker, 1987, p. 37). Immigrant, as used for the purposes of this study, is defined as an individual

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who has migrated from either India or Pakistan and who now regularly resides in the United States whether first or second generation. This definition restricts immigrants to those who have origins in either India or Pakistan. Cultural values are defined as those cultural customs, habits, and social principles that serve as a standard guide for behavior for the individual and the community.

Finally, immigrant Indian and Pakistani communities are defined as those who trace their origins to the Indian sub-continent and reside in the U.S. regularly. For the purposes of this research, two dimensions are important: identification with a country (Indian or Pakistani) and religion (Hindu or Muslim). Thus, while the two communities (Indian and Pakistani) are treated as separate research populations despite their many shared cultural values--such as the superiority of men over women and the prioritization of the family over the individual's well-being (Lum, 1998; Ho, 1990; Fernandez, 1997)--the research design allows for an exploration of the role of religion and national origin on the type and scale of domestic violence in the immigrant communities.

Indeed, both Islam and Hinduism decree more than spiritual matters; they dictate every aspect of the adherent's private and public life. Muslims are rigorously monotheistic and oppose any representation or association with God while Hindus, through their worship of various deities, are flexible in their worship of God. These opposing viewpoints cause much friction between the two groups; in fact, this Muslim-Hindu chasm was partially responsible for India's partition in 1947 (Majumdar and Chopra, 1998; Wolpert, 1982). Given their strained relationship, calling a Pakistani an Indian or an Indian a Pakistani may invoke negative sentiments. As a matter of practicality (to avoid mislabeling, convey

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respect, and acknowledge their respective beliefs) the analysis examined the four major sub-groups (Indian Muslim, Indian Hindu, Pakistani Muslim, and Pakistani Hindu). Although many other religions are practiced (e.g. Christianity, Jainism, Buddhism, and Zoroastrians) within these cultural groups, this study's scope is limited to these four major sub-groups.

Many researchers (Root, 1998; Ho, 1990; Siddiqi and Reeves, 1986) acknowledge the existence of differences in cultural and religious practices, mate selection criteria, and tolerance of domestic violence between first and second generation immigrant populations. Details about the nature and extent of intergenerational differences are absent in the domestic violence research within Asian communities. Therefore, in the analysis, this study also explored the differences in the extent of domestic violence between first and second generation Indians and Pakistanis.

1.6 Researcher's Lens

1.6.1 Personal Experiences as Related to the Present Research

Post modernism dictates that a researcher's viewpoint and biases be explicated rather than ignored or disavowed. Aside from tradition, this research has forced me to locate my own "autobiography and experience inside the questions asked" (Gottfried, 1996, pg. 5). Although this is not an easy task for me, it is a necessary one so that this research can be interpreted in its proper and full context. To this end, I briefly present myself.

I have the good fortune of having a fairly diverse background which limits my identification with any one cultural group while allowing me to belong to several. I am a

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Muslim and a second generation Ugandan-Indian. I was born in Uganda, East Africa and remained there until the age of six when my family and I, along with some 70,000 Asians, were expelled by Idi Amin in 1972 because of a racist and short-sighted policy that declared that Africa was for Black Africans. We fled to Austria and stayed there shortly before arriving as refugees in the United States. In the U.S., my family and I settled in a small city in Pennsylvania where we had minimal contact with Indians and Pakistanis because of their own limited and dispersed representation in that geographic area at that time.

At home, though I did not recognize it at the time, the influences of many cultures were operationalized daily. For example, we generally prayed in Arabic, ate both Indian and Ugandan foods, and spoke with each other primarily in English. Similarly, the influence of patriarchy was also operationalized daily in my life. I experienced my two older brothers receive preferential treatment in our day-to-day life. But the source of this male superiority norm should not indict the Indian culture of which I am a part. In fact, the origins of this practice in my life are not easily traceable because, as I later realized, the same undercurrent is present within the American culture of which I am a part also.

In time, I became aware of the fact that I had experienced many transitions: I went from being a citizen of Uganda to a refugee in the United States; from knowing I had a home in Uganda to not comprehending why we left our home to search for another in a foreign land; from being the daughter of a wealthy businessman in Uganda to struggling to stay at the poverty line in the U.S.; from being excited about school in Uganda to dreading it in the U.S. because each morning I was forced into the ritual of pledging the U.S. flag without an explanation of why it was necessary to do so; from having friends to play with in

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Uganda to having fellow "American" female students peek at me in the bathroom because they thought my body parts were different than theirs.

As I matured, I became cognizant of being a minority and a female in the U.S. society. Ironically, my first experiences of gender discrimination were at home. In almost all aspects of our family life, my two brothers were provided with preferential treatment and given respect that my sisters and I did not receive. It was as if they had a baseline of respect and importance that always exceeded the women in the household and it was based solely on gender and not on their abilities, intellect, compassion, or achievements (but any of these characteristics held the power to enhance their already privileged status). Differences based on gender manifested in various forms, including more freedom. For example, the boys were provided permission to date while the girls were heavily sheltered.

There were also profound differences based on gender which were to determine the very course our lives would take. For example, my brothers were encouraged to pursue higher education and fully supported in their efforts while my two older sisters were told to get married (arranged, of course).

Although my brothers did not initiate this norm in our household and despite their education and exposure to the western culture (which is perhaps less patriarchal), they tacitly accepted their superiority status and never explicitly protested how their sisters, the majority of the members in the household, were treated as second-class citizens. I often wondered why they kept silent despite the fact that they held the power to affect our lives by verbalizing the idiocy of this gender inequity. But most of all, I wondered if they realized how they too, were painfully contributing to our oppression when they flaunted their

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privileges in our presence. This is the way it was to be – but not for me – I challenged gender discrimination at home and made life for my parents considerably more painful and difficult. In retrospect, I believe in a small way, I probably eased my three sisters burdens because they were the "good" girls who did not challenge these norms while I provoked my parents every step of the way. As an adult, I appreciated how much my parents progressed in their thinking in spite of their socialization and despite my need to hurry them.

Living in this type of a home environment has not left me unscathed - it has affected me profoundly and shaped me into what I am today. The experiences at home fostered in me a deep sense of justice, taught me to be independent, forced me to be resilient, and nurtured me to be compassionate.

1.6.2 Immersion in Indian and Pakistani Culture

My first significant immersion in the Indian and Pakistani cultural groups occurred in 1996 when I served as the Executive Director of Apna Ghar, a domestic violence agency located in Chicago Illinois. It was through exposure to Indian and Pakistani victims of domestic violence that I gained a refined understanding that these cultures, through their patriarchal underpinnings, contributed to women's oppression, violence, and suffering.

Some Indian and Pakistani women who were victims of violence expressed to me that they withstood their abuse for some time before seeking assistance because "our" cultural norms permitted a man's abusive behavior. Other women sought help despite the risk of abandonment by their families because of the "shame" they brought by leaving the

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abusive husband. While others still sought help but were forced to return to their abusive environments out of necessity; after all, the alienation, loneliness, risk of being deported, language barriers, and lack of financial support in a new country presented challenges very few could overcome successfully. It was as if the various societal systems at the micro and macro level were designed to ensure that most women would fail to become independent -- fail at leaving an abusive partner.

My tenure with Apna Ghar assisted me significantly both professionally and personally. It was at Apna Ghar that my understanding of the tensions between Pakistanis and Indians and Hindus and Muslims became heightened. I learned that petty divisions, whether cultural, religious, or geographic have real consequences on critical and scarce social service delivery. But these cultural insights dwarfed in comparison to the broader realization that the larger society, through its funding sources, had made a simple, powerful, and effective statement: on the whole, women's issues were just not that important.

1.7 Significance of the Study

The purpose of the present study was to examine domestic violence against women within the immigrant Indian and Pakistani communities in the United States. This study is significant because, to date, no systematic information exists on domestic violence within the immigrant Indian and Pakistani communities. By examining this social problem, some of the invisibility and ambiguity of domestic violence within these immigrant communities is diminished. By providing information to social service professionals and organizations that assist them, it is hoped that findings from this study will aid in facilitating the much-

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needed dialogue on how to help immigrant Indian and Pakistani victims of domestic violence. This study is significant because it takes what is considered a private family matter and exposes it for public discussion for three aims: one, domestic violence within immigrant Indian and Pakistani communities can be publicly recognized and acknowledged; two, victims of domestic violence can be meaningfully assisted through appropriately designed interventions; and three, awareness and education on prevention of domestic violence within these communities can be initiated with a systematic study informing such efforts.

This study is also significant because research on domestic violence is in its infancy and consequently cross-cultural studies are scant, but necessary if we are to enhance our understanding of domestic violence within all cultural groups.

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2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Explaining Domestic Violence

Many theories seek to explain the underlying causes of domestic violence and each provides some clarity to our understanding of it. However, considering that various interactions and influences combined produce the complex phenomenon of domestic violence, it would be erroneous to think that any one theory could fully explain its causes. The difficulty with selecting one theory as the answer to this complex problem lies in the reality that domestic violence theories seek to explain human behavior that does not fit neatly into the cause-and-effect paradigm. In fact, serious inquiry of the many theories leads to the conclusion that, in aggregate, they provide a more comprehensive understanding of the causal factors of domestic violence than they can singularly.

Just as no one theory satisfactorily explains domestic violence, no one theory can guide the present study because of the significant overlaps among them. For example, social learning theory posits that violence is a learned behavior and feminist theory holds that the social structure of society, which is based on gender and power, fosters domestic violence by allowing men superiority through its structural organization. The overlap between social learning and feminist theories occurs when feminist theory emphasizes socialization - a social learning process. With this as background, coupled with the intention of this research to examine domestic violence against women within the immigrant Indian and Pakistani communities, the present study was anchored in the integration of feminist and social

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learning theories as developed by Ganley (1989). This integrative approach proved helpful in understanding domestic violence within the immigrant Indian and Pakistani communities because of its application to a broad range of populations. Before introducing and elaborating further on the pro-feminist social learning theory's application to the study of domestic violence within immigrant Indian and Pakistani communities, an overview of the other causal theories of domestic violence is presented.

The major theories of domestic violence are commonly classified into three broad groups and, within this, there are numerous sub-categories of theories. Depending on the scholar, the various theories are organized into different schemes. The presentation of the three major categories of theories here draws primarily from the conceptualizations of O'Leary, Gelles, and Yllo (in Gelles and Loseke, 1993).

Psychological explanations of domestic violence are individually based and suggest that "personality traits and psychological disorders of individuals can lead to violence" (Gelles and Loseke, p. 1, 1993). Such an assertion is rooted in studies that have found that physical aggression is correlated with personality disorders (O'Leary, 1993). In addition to personality disorders, psychological explanations for domestic violence also propose that the perpetrator is abusive because he has learned and accepted aggression as a method to resolving conflict.

Sociological explanations of domestic violence assert that violence is a derivative of social structures (Gelles, 1993). In the sociological perspective, social factors such as an individual's position in the social structure, age, race or ethnicity, socioeconomic status, and social environment play a role in violence. Among other factors, this perspective holds that

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rates of violence are greatest for those who are 18-30 years old and that social stress resulting from low income, unemployment, or poverty increase the likelihood of violence (Gelles, 1993). The sociological perspective casts a wide net of variables that must be considered in explaining violence.

Feminist explanations, of which there is a range, generally offer that gender and power are at the core of violence (Yllo, 1993). Feminists assert that violence results from the patriarchal structure of society that provides men with preferential treatment. The feminist theory is elaborated further in the discussion of Ganley's integrative approach.

Integrative approaches, like that of Ganley's (1989), consider the various factors that cause domestic violence and are more helpful in explaining the causes of violence than singular theoretical frameworks. For this particular study, an integrative approach will prove useful given the premise that culture transmits norms and values and, in this sense, domestic violence becomes yet another norm that simply gets transferred and reinforced. If culturally specific studies are to be encouraged, integrative theoretical approaches are helpful because they provide a comprehensive and richer insight into the dynamics of domestic violence.

Given the contributions of feminist and social learning theories in explaining domestic violence, the present study, an examination of domestic violence within immigrant Indian and Pakistani communities, is anchored in the integration of feminist and social learning theories as formulated by Ganley (1989). The combined theoretical approach of feminist and social learning theories is relevant to studying domestic violence within immigrant communities because it suggests that various societal systems

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support male superiority and that domestic violence is learned through norms which are *culturally* transmitted.

Ganley's (1989) integration draws on the concepts of gender, power, and systems from the feminist perspective and utilizes aggression from social learning theory. In her analysis, unequal treatment of women is based primarily on gender, evidenced partially through statistics of male against female homicides. Power is a central concept of feminist theory and refers not only to physical power, but also its social aspects that are granted to men through institutions and social norms. Over time, feminists assert, this power has become institutionalized through society's various interrelated systems – economic, political, legal, religious, educational, and family – and ultimately, all of these systems support the male batterer. Gender, power, and the various systems intertwine to form a vicious circle that continually places women in a disadvantaged and inferior position.

Ganley's framework borrows from Bandura's (1973) conceptualization of social learning theory that encompasses two main propositions – reciprocal determinism and modeling. Learning by reciprocal determinism states that environmental and cognitive factors determine behavior whereas learning through modeling occurs by observing others. In the case of modeling, the "model" can be sought out intentionally or happen accidentally, depending on one's gender, race, age, and similarity with self (Kaplan and Sadock, 1988). Thus, through positive role models that reflect healthy behaviors, it is possible to alter behaviors (behavior modification). Using Bandura's propositions, Ganley (1989) states that the origins of aggression include "biological factors, observational learning, and reinforced performance of the perpetrator within a social context" (Ganley, p. 209). This extensive

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definition of aggression states that the perpetrator has the physical size, strength, and predisposition (biological) to be aggressive, that he has learned by practice or observation (observational learning) to be aggressive, and that such aggression yields benefits for him (reinforcement).

An important aspect of social learning theory is its contribution of how aggressive behaviors are learned and reinforced. Ganley (1989) states that there are three main sources where learning and reinforcement occur: "(1) the family of origin (2) the subculture with which the person has repeated contact, and (3) the symbolic modeling provided by the media which communicates social norms and behaviors" (p. 211). In short, domestic violence is learned on multiple levels and gets reinforced through multiple avenues. Applied specifically to the present study, social learning theory would assert that Indian and Pakistani men learn aggressive behaviors in their immediate family and that their culture and larger society reinforce and approve of these aggressive behaviors. The reinforcement can occur through tension-reduction, successfully getting the woman to act in the manner that he wants, or having no negative consequences for his behavior.

The pro-feminist social learning theory purports violence "taking place in an interpersonal context but having multiple determinants: individual, interpersonal, and social" (Ganley, p. 218). Applied to immigrant Indian and Pakistani cultural groups, this includes considering the perpetrator's physical and personality traits and the social, legal, community and religious systems with which he interfaces.

Pro-feminist social learning theory proposes that the perpetrator will continue his violent behavior due to lack of consequences and there may even be rewards to reinforce his

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violent behavior. As related to immigrant Indians and Pakistanis, this component of the theory forces a detailed examination of cultural factors that may serve as rewards for violent behavior. For example, it may be that some Indian and Pakistani men abuse because a minimal amount of abuse is already acceptable at the community level and, as a result, his behaviors are neither censured nor condemned. It is also possible that he may be rewarded for his abusive behaviors through support from family, friends or community members because he simply exercised his socially condoned authority and demonstrated that he is the "MAN of the house."

By viewing the violent act as a choice made by the perpetrator against the victim, the pro-feminist social learning theory places responsibility for his violence on him and society. In other words, the common excuses for violence include the perpetrator claiming that she drove him to it or that she failed to fulfill her portion of a socially prescribed role (cook, clean, etc.) and so he hit her. This explanation attempts to give her the power for causing his behavior. However, in reality he is the one exercising power and control and he makes a choice to be violent toward her. As a guiding principle in examining domestic violence within immigrant Indian and Pakistani communities, this will serve to rightfully exculpate the victim.

In the final analysis, the integrative pro-feminist social learning theory states that domestic violence is learned, based on biological and social aspects, and that various societal systems support and perpetuate it. This combined approach of two theoretical frameworks as formulated by Ganley (1989) provides sufficient latitude through which to examine domestic violence within immigrant Indian and Pakistani communities.

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2.2 Assumptions

Beyond the fact that domestic violence is illegal in all of the United States, a basic assumption of the present study is that domestic violence in any shape or form is also inhumane. Violence, whether physical, emotional, or sexual, is an oppressive technique to control and assert superiority over another person. In the short run, domestic violence destroys individual lives and, in the long run, it destroys families and communities. Violence is wrong and this normative belief permeates throughout this study.

Finally, the reference to those who experience domestic violence as victims rather than as survivors is purposeful. It is not intended to undermine the strength and resilience of the women who live with such violence, rather the reference is used to serve as a continual reminder that she is the victim of abuse - abuse that should not occur to begin with. Contrastingly, "survivor of abuse" describes the end result, of the woman's triumph over abuse. It is hoped that all the women who experience domestic violence will become survivors.

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3. LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 Shortage of Research on Domestic Violence in Minority Communities

A consensus exists among researchers regarding a shortage of research on domestic violence in minority communities (Hampton and Yung, 1996; Klein, et. al., 1997; McCue, 1995; Abraham, 1995; Kanuha, 1994; O'Keefe, 1994; Neff, Holamon, and Schluter, 1995; Huisman, 1996). Consider this assertion by Hampton and Yung (1996):

> "Despite the growing literature on family violence, significant deficits remain in our research, theory, and practice. Violence in families and communities of color has been neither adequately explored nor appropriately explained. This omission limits the development of accurate knowledge about the prevalence and characteristics of violence among these groups" (p. 53).

Indeed, efforts to locate literature on domestic violence among the immigrant Indian and Pakistani communities yielded disappointing results. Various keywords were used to locate literature including domestic violence, domestic violence and immigrants, immigrants, domestic violence and Indian, domestic violence and Pakistan/i, Asian Indian/s, Asian Pakistanis, Asians and domestic violence, and domestic violence and minorities. The following databases were searched using a combination of keywords: IBIS, ERIC, UICCAT, Wilson, Sociofile, Psychinfo, Compendex, Contemporary Women's Issues, EXAC, Social Sciences Abstracts, NUCAT, Institute for Scientific Information for Social Sciences, and World Wide Web (Netscape, Info Seek, Yahoo, Look Smart, Lycos, and Alta Vista). In addition, hard copies of the following journals were searched: Interpersonal

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Violence, Violence and Victims, Social Work Research, and the Journal of Family Violence. Only one article by Das Dasgupta and Warrier (1996) related directly to the present study and two others, one by Bhattacharjee (1992) and one by Abraham (1995), address immigrant Indian and Pakistani domestic violence peripherally.

Lack of research regarding domestic violence within the Asian population should not imply that abuse does not exist within these groups. In fact, some researchers agree that "domestic violence is the most significant problem faced by Asian Indian women in the United States" (Kimura and Das Dasgupta, 1995, p. 423; Rhee, 1997). Lum (1998) states that:

> "the paucity of studies on other Asian groups might indicate that, among other factors, family violence is not perceived as a significant problem to investigate, and it definitely underscores how inadequate the current knowledge base is" (p. 509).

Another reason literature is difficult to locate is because various cultural groups are lumped together under the "Asian" umbrella. What little research exists on domestic violence within Asian communities, has typically combined the immigrant Indian and Pakistani communities with other Asian groups such as the Koreans, Taiwanese, Japanese, and Chinese. For example, the three articles regarding immigrant Indians and Pakistanis that are directly relevant for the present study were found under the Asian heading.

Lum (1998) states that the term "Asian American or Asian/Pacific Islander American is applied to more than 25 groups" (p. 506). Although there is some similarity in their values and beliefs and it is accurate to classify them racially as Asians, each group is culturally unique. By not accounting for the differences among the various Asian groups, the credibility of such research findings can be easily challenged. Root (1998) agrees that

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"researchers must resist amalgamating Asian American groups across ethnicities without a rationale beyond convenience" (p. 227).

All of the culpability regarding the lack of research within the Asian communities does not rest with the researchers. Root (1998) believes that Asian groups may be guarded because of the "insular nature of the family and cultural imperatives to protect the name of the family make it particularly difficult to report sexual abuse and domestic violence" (p. 222). Ho (1990) concurs that Asian values only "support the minimization and hiding of such problems" (p. 129).

Asian communities may be guarded in revealing domestic violence but there are also examples of researchers who, in spite of having collected the data, have overlooked the significance of reporting domestic violence as an issue within the Asian communities. For example, Lum (1998) observes that Nah (1993) collected data on perceived problems among Korean Americans and in spite of being told that domestic violence was a problem, Nah (1993) failed to show this as a concern in his article's statistical table. Also, Uba (1994) reviewed mental health research among Asian Americans and discussed Ho's study (1990) with regard to tolerance of abuse, but neglected mentioning domestic violence – the main thesis of Ho's study.

Given the lack of research within the Asian communities, it is not surprising that there is some confusion regarding estimations on the number of Asian victims of domestic violence. Huisman (1996) states that some researchers estimate that wife battering in Asian communities is less than in the general population, however, other researchers assert that Asian women are burdened with cultural issues which prevent them from reporting the

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abuse thus underestimating the exact level of violence. Further, Huisman asserts, when they finally seek assistance, violence has usually reached crisis proportions.

Regardless of the exact number of Asian victims of domestic violence, a commonality of some factors, for example immigration to the U.S., language barriers, some similar cultural values, and relegation to a minority status in the U.S., warrants a review of domestic violence research among other "Asian" groups. Also, two landmark studies on violence, Levinson's (1989) and Straus, Gelles, and Steinmetz's (1980), are examined because of their valuable contributions in understanding the causes of violence. In addition, a review of research by other scholars will indicate how they have examined their populations and, more importantly, assist in locating the present research within the broader context of violence in the family system nationally and globally.

Levinson's (1989) international work on cross-cultural family violence provides a broad examination of predictors of violence while Straus, Gelles, and Steinmetz's (1980) study presents a picture of violence in the American family. Although both studies are limited because they examine only the physical dimension of domestic violence, the studies offer an examination of specific social factors that begin to explain the causes of violence.

3.2 Two Landmark Studies on Domestic Violence

Using a team of trained coders, Levinson (1989) extracted ethnographic reports from the Human Relations Area Files (HRAF) cultural data archives, making this a non-probability sample. The qualitative and quantitative data were then analyzed for 90

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relatively small and peasant societies in North America, South America, Oceania, Africa, Asia, Middle East, and Europe and Soviet Union.

The reasons for wife abuse in his study varied, but Levinson (1989) classifies them into three tiers: beating as a form of punishment, beating for cause, and beating at will. Beating as a form of punishment occurred in 17 societies in Levinson's sample (1989) and this type of beating occurs because the man believes or suspects his wife of adultery; nine of these societies were in North and South America. Beating for cause occurred in 15 societies and essentially allowed a man to beat his wife if he has a "good reason." Typically, the cause can be traced to her failure to perform her duties or treat him with the respect he expects. In a majority of the societies - 39 of them - beating at will occurred simply because of the belief that it was the husband's right to beat his wife for any or no reason. In fact, such a finding is supported by Dobash and Dobash's (1981) thesis that community and institutional responses to domestic violence were designed not to end violence against women, but simply to curtail the amount of violence inflicted on women as men exercised their rights.

Among other factors, Levinson's (1989) findings indicate that families where: men in the family controlled the fruits of family labor, there were no female work groups, men had the final authority in decision-making, and divorce was easier for men than women to obtain were more prone to violence. Although not common in most societies, female work groups are defined as a group of women who meet regularly for some economic activity, for example, female traders or women's village associations.

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Levinson's (1989) work demonstrates that wife beating is a common occurrence in most societies. While we have some idea of what contributes to violence cross-culturally, it is equally important to examine factors that lead to peace in the family – factors that must be present so that violence can be eradicated. Sixteen of the societies in Levinson's (1989) study were, by comparison, relatively free of family violence. Factors that led to peace included: sharing of domestic decision making between husband and wife, wives also had control over the fruits of labor, wives could divorce just as easily as husbands, there is no premarital sex double standard, and, in the event a woman is beat, intervention is immediate.

At the national level, Straus, Gelles, and Steinmetz's, (1980) research on wife beating was the first study based on a nationally representative sample. The researchers used two measures, a wife beating index and a severe violence index, to assess the extent of (physical) violence in the American family. In their study, the researchers were forced to acknowledge that a certain amount of violence is considered "normal violence" because it has become the American cultural norm. Their data was to be assessed on a continuum of violent acts so that readers can make their own judgments as to what act constitutes violence (albeit, Straus is clear that even one act of violence - e.g. a slap - is a debasement of human life). In their sample of 2,143 couples, they found that 1.8 million wives were beaten by their husbands at least one time during the year and the lifetime rate of violence for all couples was twenty-eight percent.

According to Straus, Gelles, and Steinmetz (1980) the three major contributing factors of wife beating are: the existence of some violence in society and in the family, sexist and patriarchal organization of society, and society's cultural norms. In essence, the

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existence of some violence in society gives the impression that violence is normal and an accepted part of life; thus, its occurrence in the family system is simply a by-product. The sexist organization of society and the historical reality that men are to be the singular heads of the household similarly reflects in family systems where men simply exercise their right to be dominant. Finally, cultural norms contribute to wife beating because of the stipulation that privacy of family matters must not be made public. In Straus, Gelles, and Steinmetz's (1980) study, the authors found that the reasons wives tolerated their husbands beatings is because they felt they may have done something to deserve the punishment, to keep the marriage together for the sake of the children, fear of the stigma of divorce (usually attached to the woman), and to protect family privacy.

Levinson's (1989) and Straus, Steinmetz, and Gelles' (1980) research provides compelling evidence that the mechanisms of socialization are partially responsible for the mistreatment women endure. Socialization mechanisms such as society and family's patriarchal organization or the institution of marriage (which allow a man prerogative to treat his wife as he wishes), are critical in initiating and legitimizing women's ill treatment and subjugation. Both studies demonstrate that violence against women is not rare and, worse, perhaps an accepted occurrence in the international and national sphere.

3.3 Literature within Immigrant Indian and Pakistani Communities

Literature that exists regarding domestic violence within the immigrant Indian and Pakistani communities is minimal and not systematically researched, thus limiting its usefulness for the present study. For example, Memon (1993) discusses wife abuse in the

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Muslim community in the Islamic Horizons, a monthly Muslim magazine. In this, he asserts that 10 percent of the Muslim women in the United States are abused in some form or fashion. Yet, he quickly points out that "there are no hard numbers, because community leaders haven't taken the well-known problem seriously enough to research" (p. 12). Memon (1993) states that Muslims have denied the existence of domestic violence in their community. After explaining the various forms of abuse (sexual, physical, emotional/mental), he discusses how Muslim men use religion to point to their superiority and, consequently, feel justified in abusing women. In fact, he states, Islam does not condone violence.

Memon (1993) contends that going to the Imams (somewhat equivalent to a priest in Christianity) proves unhelpful because they tell women to "pray and be patient" (Memon, p. 15). On the one hand, anecdotally, this type of information is interesting, but for purposes of this research of limited utility because it provides singular accounts of domestic violence rather than how pervasive it is or its nature at the broader community level. On the other hand, such information suggests that Indian and Pakistani women are perhaps immersed in a cultural and religious context that forces them to accept and tolerate some amount of violence.

Another example of the anecdotal information on domestic violence within immigrant Indian and Pakistani communities is an article titled "Trauma of Indian Spouses in the U.S." by Basu (1988). The author begins with an example of a professional woman in a Northeastern American state who was abused by her husband for 15 years, until his death. After his death she discovered that he had named his family of origin as a beneficiary to his

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pension and savings account which left her financially broke. Basu (1988) concludes that in the United States, abused Indian women face significant barriers including: language barriers, lack of knowledge regarding laws that offer protection to women in the U.S., stresses of a new and often clashing cultural system immersed in materialism, and "silent suffering" because of loyalty to the family and fear of bringing shame to the family and community. Again, such information is interesting, but of limited value in understanding violence within these communities on a broader level.

3.4 Studies of Domestic Violence within the "Asian" Communities

Prior to Yoshihama's (1996) dissertation research, Song (1996) was the only researcher who had systematically studied domestic violence among "Asian" American women in the United States. Yoshihama (1996) examined the socio-cultural context of domestic violence against women of Japanese descent in Los Angeles County. Yoshihama's (1996) study included women of Japanese descent, who had immigrated to the U.S., were aged 18-49, either past or present victims of domestic violence and lived in Los Angeles County. Supplementing the Conflict Tactic Scale (CTS) with behavioral specific items and mental health measures, Yoshihama (1996) and her trained interviewers conducted face-to-face interviews with a representative sample of 211 women.

Given the criticism of the Conflict Tactic Scale's inability to fully capture the context and subjective experiences of domestic violence, Yoshihama's (1996) study attempts to resolve these methodological weaknesses by gathering data on actual and

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perceived experiences of violence. Yoshihama (1996) proposes a two step approach to gathering data on domestic violence which would require that, one, the woman "must report some form of violence" (1999, p. 878) on a four point Likert-type scale which ranges from 1 (not at all abusive) to 4 (very abusive). And two, the woman must identify that the abusive act occurred within the context of the abusive relationship.

Based on the actual reports (traditional approach) of violence, Yoshihama (1996) found that the lifetime prevalence rate of domestic violence was 80% and it was 40% for the past year. By specific scale, the lifetime prevalence rate for physical violence was 52%, for emotional abuse it was 76%, and for sexual abuse it was 30%. When accounting for the respondents' subjective perceptions (contextual approach), the lifetime prevalence rate for domestic violence dropped to 61%. The decrease in rates is considered a more realistic estimate because not all "preidentified acts were considered abusive" by the women (Yoshihama, 1999, p. 888). Similarly, by using the contextual approach, the specific scale rates also dropped; so the physical violence rate was 40%, emotional abuse was 51% and sexual abuse was 20%.

Song (1996), by using the snowball technique, obtained a sample of 150 Korean women in Chicago who were 18 years or older and lived in the United States for at least 10 years. In Song's study, 60% reported that they were battered which is relatively high considering the lifetime incidence in the U.S. population is 28% (Straus, 1980). Of these, 37% said they were battered at least once per month. The length of time resided in the United States appeared to make a difference in how frequently and severely the women were abused: a majority (78%) of the women said that they were more frequently and severely

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abused within the first 3-5 years of their arrival in the United States. Forty-two percent of the women in this study said they felt that time would resolve the abuse, thirty-five percent wanted to keep the problem within the family and a mere 5% said they would seek professional help.

Ho's (1990) study in Seattle Washington was conducted to assess domestic violence attitudes among Asian Americans. She used eight focus groups of 6 to 10 participants consisting of both men and women ages 18-70. Ho's focus groups included participants from the Chinese, Vietnamese, Cambodian, and Laotian cultural background. Ho used focus groups because "it allowed participants to freely explore issues within their cultural context in their native language without the artificial restraints of structured interviews and questionnaires" (p. 140).

Ho (1990) found that Vietnamese men and women were more accepting of men's domination and the Vietnamese men felt that they "owned" their wives. Vietnamese women accepted men's dominance and reported that they could not deny their husbands sexual advances. Chinese women strongly disapproved of physical violence while Chinese men said they knew they held final decision-making authority in their marital relationship. By stating that spousal violence is common and sanctioned within their communities (Ho, 1990), it is not surprising then that Vietnamese, Laotian, and Cambodian women were the most submissive to their spouses. They also stated that spousal violence is common and sanctioned within their communities (Ho, 1990). These findings are consistent with Yim's (1978) assertions that Koreans culturally accept violence as a method of resolving domestic disputes and, when they come into the United States, they bring with them traditional beliefs

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of male superiority. Similarly, Yu (1995) explains that domestic violence in the Korean community occurs "when the husband insists on observing traditional Korean family mores under which he is the authority figure over his wife" (p.282).

Rhee's (1997) study is an analysis of pertinent data and research conducted by other professionals. In her analysis, Rhee (1997) discusses that domestic violence in the Korean immigrant families in the United States is on the rise due to stress, frustrations of immigration, language barriers, and Korean men's alcohol consumption. The mismatch between educational level (high) and employment held (blue collar) also correlated positively with domestic violence for the Korean immigrants in the U.S. Rhee (1997), in agreement with Yu (1995), Yim (1978), and Ho (1990), concludes that the significant increase in domestic violence within Korean immigrants in the United States is due to Korean cultural values that promote male superiority. Rhee (1997) believes that since Korean women are raised in a culture where males are considered superior, they tend to be more tolerant of the abuse they incur and are much more passive in seeking assistance than their American counterparts.

Three researchers, Das Dasgupta and Warrier (1996), Bhattacharjee (1992) and Abraham (1995), make a direct contribution to our understanding of the domestic violence experience for immigrant Indian women and the organizations that serve them. Das Dasgupta and Warrier (1996) describe the results of their exploratory study of twelve women who sought assistance at Manavi, an Asian women's shelter located in New York. The purpose of their study was to examine "the ideologies and conditions that form the realities of the lives of Asian Indian immigrant battered women" (Das Dasgupta and

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Warrier, 1996, p. 238). The researchers gathered their information by preparing a list of topics that included questions about the victim's childhood socialization, gender discrimination faced at home, parental restrictions, and ideology regarding marriage. The topics were then used to individually and informally interview victims of domestic violence.

In Das Dasgupta and Warrier's study, nine of the participants were professionals and ten out of twelve had reached adulthood in India, the other two were raised in the U.S. The findings of this study were startling. On average, women suffered 8 years of abuse prior to seeking help. With the exception of one, all of the marriages were arranged. Surprisingly, all of the women claimed that they did not feel they were being abused at first because they expected their Indian husbands to behave "traditionally." The implication is that some level of abuse is inherently part of the Indian and Pakistani cultures and women expected to be abused. Regardless of their educational achievements and professional status, the women were socialized early on by their parents to adopt a subservient role to men. They internalized their subservient role and, as victims of domestic violence, were willing to sacrifice personal happiness and safety to uphold a marriage facade for two reasons – so that the children would have a two-parent household and to maintain an aura of wellness for the sake of the community. Sadly, in their eagerness for his presence, the women did not consider what kind of father he was and what the children would learn by his example.

The women in this study shared the belief that honor of the family is of utmost importance. To guard that the family's honor was kept in tact, as children, their parents carefully monitored their movements outside the home and, in most cases, significantly restricted them. Many of the participants said their parents allowed their brothers much more

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freedom. Later, as married women, their husbands were suspicious of their activities, even when the women were at work. In fact, two women tolerated being spied on while in their professional residency programs. In spite of the abuse, the women feared breaking up their homes because it would sacrifice the family's honor and taint the possibility of marriage for any unmarried siblings (in the U.S. or India).

As victims of domestic violence, the women were accused by their abusers of being "too free" and therefore "un-Indian." To retaliate, the abusers blatantly flirted with other women while their wives were watching. Two differences were evident between those who were reared in the United States and those who were raised in India. First, the India-raised women had a stronger commitment toward their in-laws than the women raised in the U.S. and, second, the women from India took a significantly longer time than women from the U.S. before parting from their abuser. Finally, the authors incriminate the community for turning a blind eye to the seriousness of domestic violence within their communities.

Das Dasgupta and Warrier's (1996) study, while valuable because it is the first one to address domestic violence within immigrant Indian and Pakistani communities, is also limited. The sample size and method of sample selection significantly limit the study's generalizability. Further, the researchers dismiss that religious convictions have an impact on domestic violence, but their study included a majority of Hindu women so it is unclear how they came to their conclusion. Finally, Das Dasgupta and Warrier's (1996) study is, in fact, an experience of a few Indian women who are victims of domestic violence and to coin it as an Asian experience contradicts Root's (1998) advice that researchers resist amalgamating Asian groups.

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Bhattacharjee (1992) is one of the co-founders of Sakhi, a domestic violence agency located in New York City. In her article, she contends that immigrant Indians in the United States are constructing a "national' culture, a world of their own in a country where they are different. Within this construction, Bhattacharjee (1992) proposes that women hold a pivotal position; women are to sacrifice themselves and hide any pain they may feel, including that derived from domestic violence. Clearly, organizations like Sakhi pose a threat to the myth of an Indian woman created by the Indian community in the U.S. because these organizations seek to help women to create their own identities and not simply accept the identity forced on them by society.

Perhaps most telling is Bhattacharjee's (1992) narration of how Sakhi was rejected from participating in a Diwali festival by its organizers. In this festival, where various aspects of Indian life were role-played, Sakhi members requested permission to conduct a performance that mocked certain aspects of a woman's life – including domestic violence. Sakhi's request was denied. This denial by organizers of the Diwali festival simply demonstrates another form of "turning a blind eye" perhaps consistent with Das Dasgupta and Warrier's (1996) contention that the Indian community does not acknowledge domestic violence.

Despite loyalty to family and community and the cultural pressure of saving face, an examination of utilization rates for Asian domestic violence services gives the impression that Asian battered women are no longer silent—they are indeed seeking assistance. For example, in her study of six South Asian Women's Organizations, Abraham (1995) reports that between 1985 and 1993 1,071 abused women sought assistance and one third of them

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approached the organizations in 1992. In Los Angeles during a seven year period (1978-1985), 3,000 Asian women sought help for domestic violence at the Center for the Pacific Asian Family (Rimonte, 1989) and Yu (1995) reports that one third of the clients were Koreans and ninety percent were battered women.

Although Fernandez's (1995) analysis is based on Indians in Bombay India, her contribution to understanding domestic violence within the Indian community must be examined because of its focus on the Indian culture. Fernandez (1995) analyzed 15 cases that were published in a report by Abraham (1991). Abraham (1991) collected histories of the women during 1985 and 1990 from the Women's Centre, a social service organization in Bombay that offers a range of services to women from various backgrounds. The 15 women, of Indian origin, for Fernandez's (1997) research were chosen because they represented a variety of religious, linguistic, social, and caste backgrounds.

Fernandez (1997) asserts that domestic violence is culturally accepted within the Indian culture and there is "little systematic data on domestic violence in India" (p.. 442). She acknowledges that domestic violence varies not only across culture, but also intra-culturally and that the role of extended family members as batterers is in sharp contrast to the Western view of domestic violence (where it is usually defined as partner violence). In her analysis, Fernandez (1995) found that the mother-son tie is at the center of family structure and serves as the impetus for violence against a wife. This is consistent with Hines et. al.'s (1992) position that the mother and son relationship is the center of the (Christian and Hindu) Indian family. Fernandez (1995) states that in addition to the husband, the mother, father, and uncle in-laws can also be guilty of violence against the daughter-in-law.

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She observes that in the typical Indian family constellation, the daughter-in-law holds the least amount of power in the household and usually serves as a "slave" to the rest of the family. Such a finding, by the way, is compatible with, and vividly describes Root's (1996) assertion that women are held in "domestic captivity," a concept which states that women are limited in their daily lives due to repeated violent experiences.

Paradoxically, some Indian woman transition from victims as younger women to perpetrators as older women; they are provided support to batter through their sons and male members of the household. Using Kandioti's (1988) concept of "patriarchal bargain," Fernandez (1995) explains why a mother-in-law can become a perpetrator. Patriarchal bargain states that in return for economic, physical and emotional protection, women either actively or passively partake in oppressing other women. Of course, the bargaining is not overt or spoken, it happens through socialization.

Violent incidents, in the 15 cases Fernandez (1995) analyzed, were triggered by "unmet demands, either real or fabricated" (p. 442) with the common points of conflict being "dowry and gifts, jealousy or suspicion of the woman's character, her desire to work outside the home, disputes over housework and child care, and/or the husband's extramarital affairs and alcoholism" (p. 443).

Resounding what other researchers have said, Fernandez (1995) also found that the cultural value of losing face prevails at a high expense. In her study, the parents of the victims were supportive of their daughters, but felt restricted in their support because they did not want to "lose face" in the community. Thus, some of the parents made attempts to reconcile differences between the in-laws and their daughter, often telling the daughter that

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it was her fate. Returning their daughters to the abusers eventually resulted in 3 lost lives. One woman's last words were that she could no longer endure abuse from her husband and mother-in-law. In many cases of domestic violence in India, the guilty family's defense is to claim that the daughter-in-law committed suicide.

Huisman's (1996) study is helpful in providing insight into some of the special needs of Asian victims of domestic violence. Huisman's (1996) study consists of 18 Asian community activists and service providers throughout the U.S. who were interviewed in a loosely structured format with open-ended questions. She used a snowball method to recruit her sample of 17 women and 1 man. Huisman's (1996) main findings were that mainstream social service providers overlook the significance of cultural issues (food at the mainstream shelters), language issues (there are many Asian dialects), and structural issues (legalities of immigration and the influence of patriarchy).

Domestic violence within immigrant communities has implications for their help-seeking behaviors and only through understanding their cultural beliefs can effective intervention strategies be designed. An example of how lack of cultural understanding can lead to an erroneous diagnosis and treatment is reported by Norton and Manson (1992). The authors report that Southeast Asian Refugee women who sought help at a clinic were initially treated for major depression with an antidepressant medication. However, a later history uncovered domestic violence as the cause of depression. But because these women "tend not to report violence because family problems are resolved by willpower or with the support of family" (p. 729) they were misdiagnosed and mistreated.

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3.5 Religion and Domestic Violence

Considering the infusion of religion with culture, it was imperative to examine both Islam and Hinduism because of their potential influence in determining whether Pakistani and Indian women are abused. It is through socialization that religion shapes the everyday realities of an adherents life and, at the same time, provides a road map for what the future ought to be - beyond the reality of a daily life (Timmerman, 1993). Before exploring specific aspects of Islam and Hinduism regarding women, it is necessary to acknowledge that religious practices and beliefs can vary significantly by many factors including individual, family, generation, and region. This variation is compounded by the gap between a religion's theoretical prescription and normative practices. Therefore, given such realities, generalizations about how these religions view women must be cautiously approached. Further, for the purposes of this research, Islam and Hinduism are discussed only as they relate to domestic violence which, unfortunately, sacrifices presenting a wholistic view of both religions.

At the time of its advent, Islam effectively ended the common practice of female infanticide and, at a time when women had no rights, was among the first in providing economic, political, and social equity for them (Griffinn, 1998; Kayani, 1998). Yet, in spite of such achievements, a question remains whether Islam permits the beating of women. One verse (4:34 An-Nisa) in the Qur'an, the Holy Book of Islam, states that:

> "Men are the protectors And maintainers of women, Because Allah has given The one more (strength) Than the other, and because They support them From their means. Therefore the righteous women Are devoutly obedient, and guard In (the husband's) absence What Allah would have them guard. As to those women On whose part ye fear Disloyalty and ill-conduct, Admonish them (first), (Next) refuse

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> to share their beds, (And last) beat them (lightly); But if they return to obedience, Seek not against them Means (of annoyance): For Allah is Most High, Great (above you all)" (1410 A.H., pp. 219-220).

Hassan (1995) explains how this verse is often misinterpreted in translation from Arabic to other languages:

> "the root word daraba has been generally translated as 'beating' is one of the commonest root-words in the Arabic language with a large number of possible meanings. That the vast majority of translators – who happen to be all men – have chosen to translate this word as 'beating' clearly indicates a bias in favor of a male-controlled, male-oriented society (p. 11)."

Efforts by this researcher to locate other meanings of daraba proved unsuccessful because it appears that daraba literally translates into beat (lightly) in English, but native Arabic speakers conveyed to this researcher their frustration at the inadequacy of this translation. In English, they explain, the word does not capture the essence of the meaning. Nonetheless, whereas Hassan (1995) attempts to reframe the basis of the "beating" controversy, Badawi (1996) claims that Muslim jurists agree that the beating is referred to symbolically, but he does not elaborate further on how it is symbolic. However, various interpretations of this verse have yielded five conditions under which a man is permitted to "beat" his wife: 1) it is to be carried out with a Mishwak (a short wooden stick used as a toothbrush which is made of the Salvadora Indiea tree or from the Dittender, Lepidium, or Aloeswood) 2) it must be in the form of a tap 3) it can leave no mark on her body 4) he can never hit her face 5) and it is the last resort for ill-conduct or reprehensible act on her behalf (Qur'an, 1410 H.). What constitutes "ill-conduct" is a matter of interpretation, but there is agreement that it must be an extreme act of lewdness by the woman (Badawi, 1996), for example, committing adultery. In the event she commits adultery, she is not guilty until

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there are four eye-witnesses (i.e. they must have actually seen her having sex) testifying to her illicit behavior (Haspel, 1997). The many clauses and conditions of beating render the verse symbolic. Further inquiry into Islam regarding this controversial verse leads to the many admonitions of Prophet Mohammed to treat women with respect, kindness, and equity.

To its credit, Hinduism offers its adherents powerful and dynamic Goddesses, not just Gods, and makes no direct reference to the battering of women. In fact, by proposing that femaleness is both power and nature – the energizing principle for the universe – Hinduism places women in a dignified position (Wadley, 1995). However, the Laws of Manu (a renowned code of Hindu Law which numbers 12 books in all and contain rules for the observance of ceremonies, rituals and moral and social instruction) clearly restrain a woman's power. For example, women in Hindu thought are fertile and benevolent and, at the same time, dangerous and malevolent (Wadley, 1995). A man must control the dangerous aspect of a woman while she demonstrates her faithfulness to Hinduism through practicing her religiously prescribed subservient role.

The proper role of a Hindu woman includes saving her husband from death, following him anywhere, proving her virtue, remaining under his control, and giving him her power (Wadley, 1995). For instance, Cloutier (1991) points out that Sita, a legendary figure in Hindu mythology is worshipped for her devotion to her husband, Ram, the king of Ajodhya. Sita was so devoted that she followed him to the forests when he was exiled from his kingdom. After being abducted by Ravana, a demon, she proves her virtue to Ram by placing herself on a lighted pyre (Wadley, 1995). When she remained unharmed by the fire,

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Ram accepts her back into his kingdom. For her devotion to her husband, Sita remains one of the most honored women in the Hindu tradition. Similarly, Das Dasgupta (1996) also provides an example of Arundhati, the wife of sage Vashistha and the daughter-in-law of (lord) Brahma. Das Dasgupta (1996) observes that despite her achievements, Arundhati is better remembered for her devotion to her husband. But regardless of Hinduism's Goddesses, the religion's social caste system functions to oppress those Indian women who, by chance, are born into a "lower" caste.

In both Islam and Hinduism there are references to the equality of women. Both religions acknowledge that women have an equal but dissimilar role to a man and that, together, the genders are complimentary. It appears from the literature review on domestic violence within Indian and Pakistani communities and on Islam and Hinduism that when religion is infused within a cultural framework, the cultural mores generally dominate and are practiced at the expense of religious teachings, which are relegated to a subordinate role.

3.6 Conclusion

In conclusion, the researchers who have studied domestic violence within the Asian communities have contributed to the collective knowledge base by identifying aspects of Asian cultural values that impact domestic violence. The values they identify include: loyalty to family; fear of losing face and, as a result, bringing shame to the family; superiority of men (patriarchy); and devotion and submission to one's husband (rooted in the patriarchal structure of society). Some researchers assert that immigration and its related transitions, e.g. acquaintance and adjustment to western values (that often seem

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contradictory to the eastern Asian values), language barriers, and the lack of knowledge regarding the U.S. legal system, serve as an impetus to domestic violence. However, while these issues may compound the difficulty that an Asian woman is already experiencing due to domestic violence, they cannot and should not be viewed as triggers of violence - such an assertion would simply serve to excuse the perpetrator for his lack of control.

Lum (1998) observes that family violence should not be considered an Asian cultural ideal or norm. In fact, she believes that some of these uniquely Asian traits of loyalty, hierarchy, collectivism, obligation, loss of face, and so on have served the important purpose of holding the family together in the face of major life adjustments, such as living in a new culture or even combating (the consequences) of racism. Lum's (1998) observations are thoughtful and indeed her insight noteworthy. It appears that some Asian values do, in fact, serve meaningful and necessary functions for the family unity, particularly when the family has immigrated, but it can also be argued that these values exist primarily at the expense of the Asian woman. As demonstrated earlier, the few research efforts within the Asian community have consistently found that: it is *she* who must be loyal to the family by not discussing or seeking help for any violence or oppression she faces; it is *she* who must not bring shame to the family by displaying the injustices committed against her by him; it is *she* who must be inferior so that he can feel superior despite his subordinate status in the larger community or society; and it is *she* who must be devoted and submit to him despite his obvious lack of control as he inflicts violence on her. It may be that some norms and values in the Asian community promote family violence, albeit, as perhaps a by-product of their intended purposes.

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While Asian cultural values and stresses related to immigration are identified through existing research, the ambiguity pertaining to domestic violence within the immigrant Indian and Pakistani communities remains. Despite the fact that there are over 896,447 Indians and Pakistanis in the United States, only one research effort consisting of 12 respondents has been dedicated solely to the issue of domestic violence within the Indian community and, even here, the research methods employed in the study and the small sample size place it properly in the anecdotal information category. Literature within the Indian and Pakistani communities on domestic violence, also relatively scarce, is restricted to vignettes which are then used to make generalizations about the nature of domestic violence in these communities without the benefit of systematic research.

The fact remains that no studies have been undertaken to measure the extent of domestic violence against women within the Indian and Pakistani communities nor has research been carried out to ascertain which factors impact risk for domestic violence within these cultural groups. One avenue by which the existing gap in research is ameliorated is through studies such as this one.

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4. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Research Design

The present study is a descriptive cross-sectional examination of domestic violence against women within Indian and Pakistani communities in the U.S. In addition to describing the extent of domestic violence against women within these communities, factors that may impact risk for such violence are explored. A descriptive research design was best suited for the present study because of limited information about domestic violence within the Indian and Pakistani communities. Although a longitudinal study is preferred, the present study is cross-sectional because a larger sample of a descriptive nature is necessary at this stage of knowledge regarding domestic violence within this population while theory testing or examining causal sequences are not appropriate at this time.

4.2 Sample Design, Size and Recruitment

The present study necessitated a convenience non-probability sampling design for two reasons: first, there is no database containing information on Indian and Pakistani women that could be utilized to randomly select participants for recruitment and second, even if such a database existed, it would not be feasible to approach the women for participation because of the potential risk of harm to them. The unit of analysis for this study is the individual woman respondent. To answer the research questions for this study, a sample size of 341 women from the community at large was projected necessary for the

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survey and 16 women for the in-depth and individual interviews. However, given the difficulties encountered during data collection (expounded in section 4.3.1) compounded by the federal government's halt of all research at UIC during this same time period (August 1999), the projected sample size could not be attained. Ultimately, 114 women participated by filling out a survey and 9 participated in the individual interviews.

The rationale for choosing a sample size of 341 was based on Rubbin and Babbie's (1993) guideline of having at least ten cases for each variable examined. In the present study, there are 31 major variables (see table I) and 11 cases were targeted for each variable to account for the possibility of receiving incomplete or unusable surveys.

Only those who were (1) Indian or Pakistani and (2) Hindu or Muslim were asked to participate because these were the populations under examination. Participation rates of Hindus and Muslims from India and Muslims from Pakistan were expected to be greater than by Hindus from Pakistan because Hindus constitute a small percentage of the population in Pakistan. In fact, an exact percentage of Hindus in Pakistan could not be located since most information sources simply classify the country's Hindu, Christian, Buddhist, and other religions under the "other" category which, combined, is less than 3% of the population. Given this reality, participation of Hindus from Pakistan was expected to be small, if at all.

During recruitment, women of Indian origin were asked whether they fit one or more of the criteria for this study - either Hindu, Muslim, Pakistani, or Indian. If they did, they were invited to participate in the study. A few women of other ethnic groups who wanted to participate were allowed to do so, but their responses are not included in the analyses of the

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present study. As much as possible an effort was made within the convenience sampling strategy to increase the variance of the regional responses (and therefore decrease sampling bias) to more accurately ascertain the extent of domestic violence against women within the Indian and Pakistani populations in the United States. Initially, 4 states - New York, New Jersey, California, and Illinois - were targeted for data collection because these states have the highest number of Indian and Pakistani residents in the U.S. However, a request for assistance to Asian organizations listed on the Internet met with many offers by various professionals to assist in other states, thus the study's geographic scope was broadened. A total of 39 organizations (including those offering services exclusively to Asian victims of domestic violence) were approached to assist with the study, 17 organizations agreed to help but stated that they had considerable difficulty in securing cooperation from participants, and 4 agencies had minimal success in securing participation. The assistance that was required of professionals in Asian organizations included distributing and collecting the research tool to the Indian and Pakistani women who received services from their organizations. All those individuals who offered to help were provided with instructions on how to collect data (Appendix E) and a script for recruitment (Appendix F).

In addition to the efforts of many professionals in collecting information for the present study, this researcher also collected data on Devon Avenue for two weeks; this strategy yielded approximately one-half of the total responses. Devon Avenue, located on the north side in Chicago, was chosen as a recruitment site because it is predominantly Indian/Pakistani and consists of a majority Indian and Pakistani-owned restaurants, grocery, record, book, jewelry and video stores. In essence, Devon is "little India" or "little

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Pakistan" and no matter how rich or poor, approximately 150,000 Indians and Pakistanis in the Midwest are drawn to it (Rangaswamy, 1996). Whereas getting the sample through organizations was likely to reach those who have come to those agencies for assistance, going to Devon cast a wider net and offered sample diversity which allowed for greater confidence in estimating the extent of domestic violence against women within immigrant Indian and Pakistani communities in the U.S.

On Devon Avenue, a card table with a sign that read "women only" was set up and incentives (donations from the UIC bookstore and UIC Micro Station) were offered. Women and men approached out of curiosity and the women, when they approached alone, were told about the nature of the study and asked to participate. If the women were in the presence of men, they were told that it was a study of women's health and asked to participate. This statement was not intended to deceive the women, but rather to introduce them to the study without raising the suspicions or protests of the men that sometimes accompanied them.

In Chicago, Asian Human Services (AHS), a social service agency that offers extensive and varied social services for Asian clients, agreed to assist with recruiting participants. The agency's catchment area is not limited geographically within the State of Illinois and because it offers a broad range of services, those who come to this organization for assistance are not necessarily identified as victims of domestic violence. The agency's leadership agreed to assist this researcher and the agency was selected because of their access to Asian clients statewide and their delightful enthusiasm in participating because they recognized that the results of this study would better assist them in serving the Asian

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population. In order that they have familiarity with the study and its measurement tool, this researcher held a meeting with 9 Asian counselors at the agency who were to assist in the study. For their assistance in helping to collect data, UIC mugs (donated by the UIC bookstore) were provided to volunteers. All the women who filled out the survey were asked if they would like to participate in an individual in-depth interview. Most of the respondents refused to be individually interviewed and the few who agreed and had experienced abuse, refused to be audio-taped for fear of repercussions. The criteria for selection of the nine women is elaborated further in data collection, section 4.3.

Participation in both the qualitative and quantitative aspects of this study was completely voluntary and no financial compensation was provided. However, as an incentive for their participation and a token of appreciation for their time, participants were given a UIC key chain and a 3.5 disk letter opener (donated by the UIC bookstore). A copy of the informed consent form that explained the purpose of this study and an opportunity to ask questions was provided to participants. In addition, participants who volunteered to partake in the in-depth interviews were informed that they could stop the interview at any time and that they could skip any questions they felt uncomfortable in answering. However, once they began to talk with this researcher most provided details, often graphically, of the abuse they incurred. Those who were not abused similarly offered a great amount of information that proved extremely helpful in understanding the cultural context of domestic violence within the Indian and Pakistani communities in the United States (see Findings, Section 5).

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4.3 Data Collection

Both quantitative and qualitative data were collected to answer the two research questions for this study – one, what is the extent of domestic violence against women within the immigrant Indian and Pakistani communities? And two, are there factors which impact risk for domestic violence against women within these groups? A survey (Appendix A) was utilized to collect quantitative data and a semi-structured interview guide (Appendix C) was used to collect qualitative data. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 9 women who volunteered to be interviewed. The need for personal and individualized interviews is necessary because, as Sorenson (1996) states:

> "most studies, regardless of sample origin, have used measures and instruments developed on Anglos and simply applied them to members of other ethnic groups. Clearly, unique cultural manifestations of violence against women cannot be identified if such experiences are not measured" (p. 125).

By utilizing a semi-structured approach, personal interviews allowed this researcher to gather information from Indian and Pakistani women that a structured instrument could not obtain. Although some researchers have used focus groups to obtain information on domestic violence from Asian groups, this researcher decided against such an approach. Perhaps the greatest benefit of a focus group is that it is time effective, but researchers have consistently pointed (see literature review) to the Asian cultural values of "saving face" and not sharing one's domestic problems with others in the community to maintain an aura of wellness. In light of such values, focus groups appear to be a contradictory method to use with the Asian population. Therefore, this researcher individually interviewed some Indian and Pakistani women which allowed for confidentiality, eliminated the need to "save face" for the sake of the community, and permitted respondents to talk freely.

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Having experienced the dilemma of a few women eagerly requesting to participate in the present study though they did not fit the criteria, all women who initiated the request to fill out the survey were allowed to do so. Although their responses were not used for analysis, it was difficult to deny such women participation. Consequently, instructions provided to individuals helping to collect data (Appendix E) specify that those women who do not fit the criteria can participate if they so desire. The dilemma of not wanting to deny participation to women who were excited about the project also led to the interviews of one Christian woman and one single woman who had been abused by her brother. The Christian woman's responses were not included in qualitative analysis until statistical tests showed that religion and domestic violence were not associated (see section 5.3). The single woman's responses of the abuse she incurred at the hands of her brother were included although the focus of the present study was on partner violence because of her contribution to the role of socialization (similar to a majority of women's assertions) in her life.

Before collecting data, I had considered the impact that my dressing would have on the women. After considerable thought, I decided against traditional Indian clothes for a couple of reasons: one, I rarely wear Indian clothes anyway and, second, I wondered if the Indian clothes could invoke in women the thoughts of traditionalism and the associated system which has, for better or worse, created their condition.

The criteria for selection for the in-depth interviews was: half of the women were to include those who have been abused or were, at the time of this study, in an abusive relationship and the other half were to include those who have never been abused. Including past/present victims of domestic violence and those who have never experienced violence

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was necessary to gather information which could then be cross-referenced to analyze the dynamics and nature of domestic violence within the Indian and Pakistani communities. It was anticipated that by comparing the information between the abused and non-abused women, a fuller and more balanced perspective would emerge on the cultural dynamics and their role, if any, on domestic violence.

The intention was to audio-tape all in-depth interviews and despite continuous assurances to preserve their confidentiality, most women refused to be audio-taped for fear of repercussions. Altogether, three women agreed to be audio-taped and, of these, one woman was a past victim of domestic violence (and consequently divorced) and two women were not abused. The fact that even some of those who had not experienced violence denied a request to be audio-taped begins to reveal the guarded nature of these communities.

The survey for this study was self-administered, took most respondents approximately 20 minutes to complete, and requested no personally identifying information. It was completed anonymously and, in Chicago, the option to provide names for participation in the in-depth interviews was offered. Confidentiality was maintained when such information was provided.

The in-depth interviews were held at locations convenient for the respondents, with most occurring in coffee shops and restaurants. The interviews lasted an average of one and one-half hours. The rationale for including some structure in the interviews, as opposed to a loosely and highly inductive design, was rooted in the fact that the literature review produced sufficient topical areas that could be further explored. For instance, the literature review demonstrated that "Asian" values promote male superiority (and female inferiority)

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so a question on the interview guide asks, "How are women treated in your culture?" While the questions on the guide sheet are open-ended and broad, probes for each question were utilized as appropriate to deepen understanding of the Indian and Pakistani cultural context. The probes developed naturally as the exchange between the participant and this researcher occurred.

4.3.1 Barriers to Data Collection

Straus, Gelles, and Steinmetz (1980) discuss the difficulty of conducting research that examines taboo topics such as domestic violence. The difficulty in collecting data for the present study confirms this observation and, within the Indian and Pakistani communities, collecting such information sometimes appeared to be an impossible task. Indeed, family matters in these communities are not only private and not to be discussed, but loyally guarded because positive appearances are integral to maintain at the macro level. The resistance I encountered at various levels within the community was indeed frustrating. Numerous times, I found comfort in knowing that another researcher (Abraham, 1995) who also attempted working with this community had experienced similar disregard. Though I earnestly collected data full time for approximately two months, the difficulty of working within this community was so intense that at times, I needed to take a break from all that was Indian and Pakistani.

At the suggestion of one of my committee members, I kept a diary of my data collection efforts initially for documentation purposes only, but soon I found it a helpful method to process my own joys and frustrations regarding data collection within this

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community. The decision to share information related to barriers to data collection is based on the ethical obligation for a researcher to report findings, but presents with many quandaries. Namely, could my explication of data collection experiences within this community deter future research efforts? In the final analysis, it is imperative to share this information for the direct purpose of providing future researchers who wish to work within this community a perspective of what I encountered.

The barriers to data collection for the present study include some similarities to barriers present with any research project: lay persons not understanding the importance of research, disinterest in the topic being researched, and no time and/or motivation. However, other barriers to data collection were not only intriguing but also unique to the present research project. For example, when introduced to the study, a majority of the women were defensive and automatically responded with "there is abuse here (United States) also!" After affirming this fact, I reiterated the need to examine domestic violence within immigrant Indian and Pakistani communities, but to no avail. The women attempted to engage me in a debate often conveying that the United States has a "worse" problem with domestic violence and terrible social problems, including "nakedness" and "homosexuality." When some of the women snickered and mocked fun of the U.S. and its problems, I had to muster restraint. As a researcher and a social worker, I listened to them, fully aware that every nation has its social problems. As an American, I had to resist the urge to ask them why, if the U.S. is so terrible, do they go through such trouble to get here? And once here, why do they try so desperately to stay? After all, I had heard the stories of women coming from India and Pakistan and giving birth to their children in the U.S. just so they can claim

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citizenship status. What about the women who shuttle back and forth in the immigration system for months and invest money (they often do not have) in attorneys just so they can stay in the United States? Yet, woman after woman, I heard the same thing - domestic violence occurs in the United States also.

Some Indian and Pakistani women, including professionals who worked with abused women, publicly supported my efforts but privately questioned why I would undertake such research and asked whether I knew that women would not want to talk to me. Ironically, though the professionals also qualified to participate in the research, most of them did not want to participate either. As the reality of their apathy set in, I had a significant appreciation for those women who did participate - to me, they signified congruence in thought and action and gave me much hope. Ironically, most of the participation in the present study was a result of women who were not identified as "activists" nor were they in a formal capacity of "helping" abused women. This spoke more about their courage and activism than those who tout such labels.

Some professionals who offered assistance (and whom I relied on) decided not to help despite their vocal commitment of wanting to help abused women. Other professionals explained that once they spoke with community members, they had been advised not to be associated with this project if they wanted to remain within the community. In such instances, I could not help but concede that social status and its associated relationships had triumphed over the need to help victims of domestic violence.

Some individuals asked many questions related to the project but refused to participate or help with data collection. Some of the questions were legitimate and pertained to the

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intent, methodology, sample size, sample selection, and the theoretical and ideological basis of the study. Other questions simply went beyond the scope of the study into intrusiveness, for example, one woman asked who my advisor was at UIC and whether my advisor was helpful (of course, without his guidance this project would not have been possible!). Generally, I was pleased to answer the questions in hopes that it would yield cooperation. However, sometimes I questioned whether these inquisitive minds really had any intention to help and what their purpose was in seeking information unrelated to the project? I also wondered whether it was this same curiosity that led many women to examine or take a copy of the survey though they did not necessarily participate.

Some women explained to me that the information I was gathering had already been collected by others but was being hoarded for a book publication, thus leaving me to explain that my intentions were not self-serving or grandiose. I simply wanted to complete a dissertation and felt that if I were to invest myself in any project that it should be one that addresses a social cause in need of attention. What better social issue than domestic violence against women within immigrant Indian and Pakistani communities in the United States?

The reality of the difficulties surrounding data collection began to materialize more fully when many women, despite understanding that the study examined violence against them, told me that they must ask their husband's permission before they could participate in the study. On one occasion when this researcher asked a group of women who were walking behind a man if they would like to participate, the man spoke for the women and retorted "NO!" as the women bowed their heads and continued following him.

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It was also extremely frustrating that the incentives I had worked so diligently to secure were eagerly sought out and taken by many women who did not participate. Sometimes they asked if they could have the incentives, often times they did not. It could be argued that the taking of incentives is common to any research project offering such tokens, however, in the Indian and Pakistani communities, their taking without reciprocating felt manipulative because it was so common and obvious – they just wanted something for free. For example, one day on Devon Street, after setting up my card table and incentives, I returned to my car to get the surveys and as I looked over at the card table, I saw a group of Indians/Pakistanis walking by, looking at the incentives, and helping themselves to the tokens. I was angered at their actions and wondered whether I was seriously out of bounds on moral expectations when I implicitly expect people not to take what does not belong to them.

Another frustration of conducting research within this community was the attitude that accompanied some of these women. For example, at one location in Chicago, I was told by the Indian social service agency that I could collect data during a time when the women come to practice computer skills. When I attempted to solicit their cooperation, I discovered that some of these women had a cold attitude mixed with an air of superiority that left me annoyed and ignited questions about the feasibility of conducting research within these communities at all. At this agency, again I was told by some of the women that they needed to ask their husbands' permission to participate. Some women read the survey and consent forms and then threw the survey at me as if to motion their refusal to participate. Other women outright ignored me, refusing to even look at me as I explained the study.

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Treated with such disrespect, I left with no completed questionnaires in hand, wondering why they found it difficult to extend basic courtesy. Did they not understand this research was for their community? And what was the basis for emanating such self-importance?

Ultimately, I concluded that the act of conducting domestic violence research within the Indian and Pakistani communities was the antithesis to their collective value system which demands loyalty and the facade of wellness. The issues I encountered in collecting data within these communities convinced me that this population is not yet ready to have research occur in their communities, instead they must first be educated on the importance of research and its usefulness in devising long-term solutions.

4.3.2 Insider/Outsider Perspective

Before initiation of the present study, I anticipated and, in fact, was confident that being an insider within the community would allow Indian and Pakistani women to establish trust and rapport with me which would enable them to freely share private information. What I discovered is that being an insider was probably as beneficial as it was harmful for data collection.

Clearly, being an insider and having an understanding of the nuances related to Indian and Pakistani culture allowed me to ask questions that needed further exploration; it allowed me to understand words spoken in Urdu or Hindi; and it allowed me to recognize the depth of their loyalty to their families and husbands. Being an insider may have also gained me entry into some women's lives because they might have felt that I, as another

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Indian woman, may have experienced similar oppression and could relate to and understand their stories.

During the challenging times of data gathering, I began to wonder whether being an insider was a liability. Would women be more likely to talk with a researcher of another race? Specifically, I thought, would they be more likely to talk with a White researcher because of the phenomena among some minorities where Whites are afforded greater respect and therefore more easily obeyed. To some women, my insider status meant that they approached with caution, if at all. After all, for all the women knew, I may have close knits in the community and could perhaps know of them, their families, and friends. Some probably feared that I would share their information with others within the community and the circle of Indians and Pakistanis in that respect seems ever so small. Ultimately, being both an insider and outsider within the Indian and Pakistani communities proved to be both formidable and educational.

4.4 Measurement

The quantitative survey for this study included one dimension of the Revised Conflict Tactic Scale (RCTS) which measures both the extent of domestic violence and "use of reasoning or negotiation to deal with conflicts" (Straus, Hamby, Boney-McCoy, and Sugarman, 1996, p. 283). The RCTS measures violence of both partners, but for the purposes of the present study, questions relating to the women's violent acts against her partner were eliminated because the study's scope was limited to violence against women

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only. Domestic violence and the RCTS subscales were the key dependent variables for this study and the key independent variables were immigrant Indian and Pakistani communities, religion, and culture (see table 1 for a complete listing of all variables and their level of measurement). The 39 questions on the RCTS are divided into 5 subscales - negotiation, psychological aggression, physical assault, sexual coercion, and injury (see Appendix G for a complete listing of questions under each scale). The negotiation scale was omitted for analyses because the focus of the present study is to explore domestic violence and negotiation is viewed as a mitigating factor.

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Table I

Variables and Level of Measurement

Independent Variables	Level of Measurement
1. Age	Ordinal
2. Education	Ordinal
3. Marital status	Nominal
4. Country of identification	Nominal
5. Marriage arranged	Nominal
6. Ethnicity	Nominal
7. Country reared	Nominal
8. Religion	Nominal
9. Culture	Nominal
10. Sought help	Nominal
11. Married to enter country	Nominal
12. Abused by others	Nominal
13. Abused by other than partner	Nominal and dichotomous
14. Country of abuse	Nominal
15. How soon abused after entry in U.S.	Ordinal
16. Use of alcohol or drugs	Nominal
17. Mother abused	Nominal and dichotomous
18. Witness of abuse	Nominal
19. Who abused mother	Nominal
20. How was mom abused	Nominal
21. Immediate family abused	Nominal
22. Extended family abused	Nominal
23. Anyone in community being abused	Nominal
24. Employed	Nominal
25. Annual income	Ordinal

Dependent Variables	Level of Measurement
1. Past year abuse	Ordinal
2. Lifetime abuse	Nominal and dichotomous
3. Total abuse	Ordinal (but treated as interval for analysis)
5. Psychological Aggression (RCTS)	Ordinal
6. Physical Assault (RCTS)	Ordinal
7. Sexual Coercion (RCTS)	Ordinal
8. Injury (RCTS)	Ordinal

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4.4.1. Revised Conflict Tactic Scale (RCTS)

Of a total of 69 questions, 39 questions on the survey originate from the standardized Revised Conflict Tactic Scale (RCTS; Straus, Hamby, Boney-McCoy, and Sugarman, 1996), a modification of the Conflict Tactic Scale (CTS; Straus, 1977-78) and a widely used instrument since its creation in 1972. The major differences between the CTS and the RCTS are that the newer version: 1) is more specific; 2) eliminates items that are not relevant for all couples, for example, one of the items on the CTS asks about the abuse of pets however, this does not apply to those who do not have pets so this item was removed in the RCTS; 3) adds two new scales measuring injury and sexual coercion; 4) increases the number of items from a grand total of 19 items to 39 items; and 5) simplified reading level from a college reading level to a 6th grade reading level.

According to its developers (Straus et. al., 1996) the theoretical basis of the CTS and RCTS is that "conflict is an inevitable part of all human association, whereas violence as a tactic to deal with conflict is not" (p. 284). RCTS has an internal consistency reliability range from .79 to .95. For the present study, the Cronbach's alpha for each scale was as follows: Psychological Scale, .83; Physical Assault Scale, .96; Sexual Coercion Scale, .91; and Injury Scale, .89. The Cronbach's alpha for the scale which measures Total Domestic Violence was .91.

The RCTS is relatively new (1996) and so its use with minority populations is not known. However, the CTS has been used with minority populations in the United States including African-Americans (Cazenave and Straus, 1979; DuRant, Cadenhead, Pendergrast, Slavens and Linder, 1994; Hampton, Gelles, and Harrop, 1989) Hispanic

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Americans (Kaufman Kantor, Jasinski and Aldarondo, 1994) and Native-Americans (Norton and Manson, 1995). The instrument has also been utilized in 20 foreign countries, including Hong Kong, India, Japan, and Spain (Straus et. al., 1996).

4.4.2 Explanatory Variables

The quantitative survey for the present study included a total of 69 questions. Aside from the demographic questions on the survey, the other questions on the survey were constructed primarily based on findings from the literature review. For example, many researchers point to "Asian values" that condone violence against women and promote superiority of men so two questions on the survey explore Asian values. Analyses of responses to these questions (correlated with others) determined whether there is some support for what previous researchers have found regarding Asian values.

Three questions on the survey were derived from Fernandez's finding that Indian women often experience violence by extended family members. Thus, the questions respectively ask: "Other than your partner, have you been abused by anyone?"; "Who, other than your partner, abused you?" (with choices that identify immediate and extended family relationships and the option to select as many as applicable); and "How were you abused by someone other than your partner? (emotionally, sexually, physically, or not applicable)."

Similarly, four questions assess how immigration interfaces with domestic violence. Song (1996), for example, found that risk for violence for an immigrant woman is greatest within the first 3-5 years of arrival in the U.S., so one question asks how soon after arrival did the respondent experience abuse. Another question asks "Did you seek assistance for

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the abuse you experienced?" and was developed from Huisman's (1996) finding that Asian women often do not seek help for domestic violence and, if they finally do, the abuse has reached crisis proportions.

Also, since some research demonstrates a correlation between domestic violence and use of alcohol and/or illegal drugs, one question asks, "Did any of the person or persons who abused you use: 1. Alcohol 2. Illegal drugs 3. Did not drink or use drugs 4. Not applicable." The response to this question allowed for an understanding of whether alcohol/drugs contribute to domestic violence within the immigrant Indian and Pakistani communities.

Four questions ask whether the respondent's mother experienced abuse, whether the respondent witnessed her mother's abuse, who abused her mother, and how her mother was abused. Again, these questions were generated from previous research that demonstrates violence is cyclical and witnessing violence in the family of origin has implications for violence in one's own home.

Finally, three questions on the survey ask about the extent of violence within their community in general. These questions were asked since the intent of the present study was to explore the extent of domestic violence within the community. Thus, the questions ask the respondent if anyone in her immediate family is currently being abused, anyone in her extended family is currently being abused, and if she knows anyone within the Indian or Pakistani communities living in the U.S. who has been or is currently being abused.

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4.5 Protection of Human Subjects and Informed Consent

All participants were provided with a copy of the informed consent form (Appendix B) that explained the purpose of this research and the respondent's right to refuse participation. The informed consent was also explained to the participants verbally when possible.

The sample was subjected to some risk because it was possible that some questions could have been upsetting for the women. To minimize this threat, all respondents were given a resource sheet (Appendix D) appropriate to their geographic region that included names and phone numbers of national, state and local social service organizations that provide assistance to victims of domestic violence. Where Asian social service organizations existed in the area, these referrals were included to accommodate women's cultural needs. Most of the respondents accepted the resource sheet, some denied it (because they either did not want it or because of fear that if their perpetrator discovered they had it, they may be subjected to further abuse), and two women required resources beyond those provided in the resource sheet. For these two women, this researcher called several organizations in the Chicagoland area and advocated for services for them.

A further risk for some women was the possibility that their participation in the present study could be mistakenly disclosed (as with any research project). To minimize this threat, respondents were assured that no one would be allowed access to their information. Given their fears, the women were also permitted to use their initials on the consent form if they so requested and at least some of the women provided fictitious names.

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The consents and surveys were kept in the researcher's home in a locked file cabinet until the conclusion of the project. Thereafter, all surveys and consents were shredded. Similarly, cassettes of the taped interviews were also destroyed. The present study was approved by the UIC Office for Protection of Research Subjects (IRB # H-99-224).

4.6 Analysis of Quantitative Data

According to its developers, the RCTS measures prevalence and severity of abuse for the past year. In order to ascertain prevalence and severity, it was first necessary to create three new criterion variables - "lifetime abuse," "past year abuse," and "total abuse." To obtain rates of violence for "past year abuse," all positive responses 1-6 were coded exactly as reported and added together by scale. All 0 (never experienced violence in lifetime) and 7 (happened but not in the past year) responses were collapsed to 0 for this analysis. This analysis partially yielded the answer to the question what is the extent of domestic violence against women within immigrant Indian and Pakistani communities in the United States. To answer the first research question fully, the variable "lifetime abuse" was created by changing the coding so that all responses to questions 1-7 were coded as 1 (experienced violence in lifetime) and 0's remained 0 (never experienced violence in lifetime).

The scores of the four scales were aggregated to create the variable "total abuse." Total abuse was treated as an interval level variable for analysis and, since it was positively skewed, a log transformation (base 10) helped to normalize it and permitted use of parametric statistics for further analyses. The second research question regarding factors

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which impact risk for domestic violence against women within immigrant Indian and Pakistani communities in the United States was answered using total abuse as the major criterion variable for regression analysis and one way anova's.

Univariate and bivariate analyses were required to describe the sample. Regression analysis, one-way anova's and a zero order correlation matrix were used to answer the second research question regarding factors that impact risk for domestic violence. All statistical tests were measured for significance at the social science standard $p < .05$ and the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS-PC) was used to analyze survey responses while Atlas/ti was used to analyze the individual in-depth interviews.

4.7 Theoretical Orientation to Qualitative Research

The qualitative portion of this study was guided by a feminist-ethnographic orientation thus remaining consistent with the theoretical framework for the entire study (see section 2 Theoretical Framework). In qualitative inquiry, feminist perspective "presumes the importance of gender in human relationships and societal processes and orients the study in that direction" (Patton, 1990, p. 86). Even more importantly, feminist research challenges social relations based on power (Gottfried, 1996) and, in the present study, power which men hold that appears to lead into violence for the women. Specifically, the interview guide reflects this orientation through asking questions only of women and their lived experiences within their culture. Since this research focuses on two cultural groups – Indians and

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Pakistanis – the qualitative aspect of this study must also be guided by an ethnographic orientation. The assumption of this approach is that:

> "every human group that is together for a period of time will evolve a culture. Culture is that collection of behavior patterns and beliefs that constitute 'standards for deciding what is, standards for deciding what can be, standards for deciding what to do about it, and standards for deciding how to go about doing it' (Patton, p. 67-68, 1990).

Ethnographic research focuses on the question: "What is the culture of this group of people?" (Patton, p. 67) or, for this study, what is the culture of this group of people that specifically impacts risk for domestic violence against women?

4.8 Analysis of Qualitative Data

The in-depth interviews provided a large portion of the qualitative data for the present study. This information was hand recorded since most women feared repercussions from their abusers and refused to be audio taped. The interview information was examined using ATLAS/ti in a two step coding process. First level coding consisted of creating variables that were identified through examining manifest and latent content of the typed interviews. Manifest content consists of examining the visible surface content (e.g., the number of times a particular word is mentioned) while latent content involves interpreting underlying meanings (Rubin and Babbie, 1993). First level coding resulted in the creation of key categories.

The second step coding of ATLAS/ti consisted of collapsing and thereby reducing the many key categories into a few based on two criteria: internal homogeneity and external

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heterogeneity. Internal homogeneity refers to "the extent to which the data that belong in a certain category hold together or 'dovetail' in a meaningful way" and external heterogeneity refers to "the extent to which differences among categories are bold and clear" (Patton, 1990, p. 403). This final step assisted in moving beyond mere classification of interview material to the generation of a theory of the factors that influence and relate to domestic violence within these cultural groups. After all, as Gottfried (1996) urges, "women's voices are raw materials that must be moved beyond simple transcription to more abstract and general terms so that individual processes can be linked to the social world" (p. 6).

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5. FINDINGS

5.1 Demographic Description of Survey Sample

Although a total of 114 surveys were received, 20 responses were not included for analysis because some of the surveys were incomplete while others included respondents who did not fit the criteria of being either Muslim or Hindu and/or Indian or Pakistani. Therefore, 94 valid cases were used for analyses. A majority of those who participated in this study reported that they were Indian (60%), 18-35 years old (64%), married (69%), and Muslim (55%; 45% were Hindu). Of those who were married, a majority (57%) had arranged marriages. Most of the respondents were residents from Illinois (77%); the remaining respondents were residents of the following states: Texas (5%), California (4%), Virginia (3%), Massachusetts (3%), Georgia (1%), New York (1%), New Jersey (1%), and Indiana (1%).

Seventy percent of the respondents stated that they were reared in India or Pakistan (first generation in the United States) while 29% were reared in the U.S. (second generation in the U.S.). More respondents (43%) identified themselves with India as opposed to Pakistan (37%) or the United States (21%). A majority of the respondents were college graduates (53%), employed either full-time (42%) or part-time (24%) and most (32%) lived in households with an annual income of over $40,000 (30% lived in households with $25,000-$35,000 and 16% reported an annual income of $25,000 or less; 18% did not know their annual income or refused to provide this information).

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Almost two-thirds of the women (65%) reported that in the Indian and Pakistani cultures, men are considered superior to women. Similarly, when asked if it was okay in their culture if a man occasionally slapped a woman, over one-half (53%) of the respondents reported that it was either okay or dependent on the circumstances.

Forty-five percent of the respondents reported that they did not seek assistance for their abuse. Twelve percent of those who were abused reported that their partner threatened to go to "immigration" or have them deported if they sought assistance for the abuse they were experiencing. Of the total sample that reported being abused by either a partner or someone other than their partner, 34% were abused within the first two years of arriving in the United States and 11% were abused within 2-5 years of arriving in the U.S. (See Table II for further description of other variables in the survey).

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Table II

SURVEY SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS

Variable	N	Proportion
Country in which abuse (by partner or others) was experienced		
U.S.	28	30%
India	9	10%
Pakistan	2	2%
U.S. and India	9	10%
U.S. and Pakistan	7	8%
If abused in U.S., how soon after arrival to the U.S.		
1st day-1 year	22	24%
1-2 years	9	10%
2-5 years	7	8%
5-7 years	3	3%
More than 8 years	2	2%
Abused by other than partner		
Yes	38	42%
No	53	58%
Partner married only to enter the U.S.		
Yes	6	7%
No	23	26%

Note. N = 94, however, some numbers do not add up to 94 or equal 100% because of either missing responses or deletion of the "other" response category.

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Table II (continued)

SURVEY SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS

Variable	N	Proportion
Mother was abused (psychologically, physically, sexually)		
Yes	37	40%
No	54	59%
Did you witness abuse against mother		
Yes	27	29%
No	12	13%
Who abused mother		
Her husband	28	32%
Other family members	3	3%
Know anyone being abused in:		
Immediate family	24	27%
Extended family	43	48%
Within the Indian/Pakistani communities	56	64%
Abuser used:		
Alcohol	15	18%
Illegal drugs	1	1%
Did not drink or use drugs	24	26.4%

Note. N = 94, however, some numbers do not add up to 94 or equal 100% because of either missing responses or deletion of the "other" response category.

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5.1.1 Demographic Description of In-Depth Interview Sample

The individual in-depth interviews included five Muslim, three Hindu, and one Christian women. A majority (six) of the nine women identified themselves as Indian, two as Pakistani, and one woman identified herself as American-Pakistani. Of the nine women, five were either past or present victims of domestic violence, three reported never having experienced abuse and one was sexually abused as a child (her responses were analyzed as a non-abused respondent because the focus of the present study was abuse by current or former partner). Of those who had experienced abuse, all but one named the perpetrator as the husband; the exception was a brother. Two women were single, one was divorced because of the abuse, one was in the process of being separated, one was separated, and four were married. Those who were married, had been or were in their relationships from a minimum of six years to a maximum of 25 years. The ages of the women ranged from 26-50 and their residence time in the United States varied from four months to 30 years. Seven of the nine women were employed (either part-time or full-time) and most (five) lived in households with incomes $40,000 or more. Of the women who had experienced domestic violence, the type and severity of abuse varied greatly (see section 5.2). Table III provides a description of the individual interviews.

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Table III

INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEWEES CHARACTERISTICS (N=9)

Type of Experience	Religion	Ethnic Identification	Abuser
Abused Group			
Psychological, Physical	Muslim	Indian	Husband
Psychological, Physical, Sexual	Muslim	Pakistani	Husband
Psychological	Muslim	Indian	Brother
Psychological, Physical	Hindu	Indian	Husband
Psychological, Physical, Sexual, Injury	Muslim	Pakistani	Husband
Non-Abused Group			
----	Hindu	Indian	-----
----	Muslim	American-Pakistani	-----
----	Christian	Indian	-----
----	Hindu	Indian	-----

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5.2 Research Question 1: What is the extent of domestic violence against women within immigrant Indian and Pakistani communities in the United States?

In the present study, the estimated lifetime prevalence rate of domestic violence was 77% (n = 61). By scale, the lifetime prevalence rates are: 73% (n = 58) experienced psychological abuse, 48% (n = 38) experienced physical abuse, 54% (n = 42) experienced sexual abuse, and 39% (n = 31) incurred injuries due to the abuse they experienced (see Table IV).

Sixty-eight percent (n = 54) of the women experienced some form of violence within the past year. Past year rates by scale are: 66% (n = 52) experienced psychological abuse, 45% (n = 35) experienced sexual abuse, 39% (n = 31) experienced physical abuse, and 32% (n = 25) incurred injuries in the past year due to the abuse they experienced (see Table IV).

Severity of abuse was computed by summing up the scores obtained on each of the four sub-scales of the RCTS. The maximum value possible for the RCTS is 231 and, in the present study, the range for total abuse varied from 1 to 169 and the mean was 26. A maximum score of 56 is possible for the Psychological Scale and the mean score for severity of psychological abuse was 11 with a range of 1-47. For the Physical Scale, a maximum score of 84 is possible, the mean was 8 and the range was 1-63. Out of a maximum score of 49 for the Sexual Scale, the mean score was 6 and the range was 2-39. A total score of 42 is possible for the Injury Scale and the mean was 3, the range was 1-26 (see Table V).

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Table IV

RATES OF ABUSE FOR INDIANS AND PAKISTANIS IN THE UNITED STATES

	Lifetime	N	Past Year	N
Total Abuse	77%	61	68%	54
Physical Scale	48%	38	39%	31
Psychological Scale	73%	58	66%	52
Sexual Scale	54%	42	45%	35
Injury Scale	39%	31	32%	25

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Table V

SEVERITY OF ABUSE IN THE PAST YEAR

	Maximum RCTS Score Possible	Mean	Range
Total Abuse	231	26	1-169
Physical Scale	84	8	1-63
Psychological Scale	56	11	1-47
Sexual Scale	49	6	2-39
Injury Scale	42	3	1-26

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5.3 Research Question 2: Are there factors which may impact risk for domestic violence against women within immigrant Indian and Pakistani communities in the United States?

To answer this research question, independent variables were first categorized into three groups based on theoretical explanations of domestic violence. The three categories, Demographic, Familial, and Cultural (see Table VI), were correlated (Tables VII, VIII, IX) to assess relationships between the independent and dependent variables. Regression analyses were then run to help build a model of predictors of domestic violence. Pairwise deletion was used to select cases when running statistical analyses.

The Demographic category consisted of the nine independent variables: age, marital status, arranged marriage, country reared, religion, ethnicity, education, employment status, and annual income. The Familial category consisted of the four independent variables: know someone in immediate family currently being abused; know someone in extended family currently being abused; mother abused; and witnessed abuse of mother. Finally, the Cultural category consisted of the two independent variables okay to occasionally slap women and who is considered superior culturally (men, women, both equal).

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Table VI

DOMESTIC VIOLENCE BY CATEGORIES AS USED FOR REGRESSION ANALYSIS

Demographic	Familial	Cultural
Age	Mother abused	Culturally, okay to Occasionally slap women
Marital status	Witnessed abuse of mother	
Marriage arranged	Anyone in immediate family currently being abused	Culturally, who is considered Superior (women, men, both equal)
Country reared	Anyone in extended family currently being abused	
Religion		
Ethnicity		
Education		
Employment status		
Annual income		

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TABLE VII

INTERITEM CORRELATIONS AMONG DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABES

		Domestic Violence	Age	Marital Status	Marriage Arranged	Reared in	Religion	Ethnicity	Education Level	Employed	Annual Income
Age	Corr Val	0.14	1.00								
	p Val	0.308	.								
	N	54	94								
Marital	Corr Val	0.04	-0.11	1.00							
Status	p Val	0.795	0.298	.							
	N	54	94	94							
Marriage	Corr Val	-0.23	-0.36	0.43	1.00						
Arranged	p Val	0.096	0.000	0.000	.						
	N	53	93	93	93						
Reared in	Corr Val	-0.01	-0.37	0.26	0.54	1.00					
	p Val	0.971	0.000	0.013	0.000	.					
	N	53	90	90	89	90					
Religion	Corr Val	0.03	-0.03	-0.13	-0.09	0.04	1.00				
	p Val	0.840	0.766	0.217	0.388	0.697	.				
	N	54	94	94	93	90	94				
Ethnicity	Corr Val	0.15	-0.09	0.01	-0.10	-0.01	0.65	1.00			
	p Val	0.264	0.387	0.910	0.320	0.958	0.000	.			
	N	54	94	94	93	90	94	94			
Education	Corr Val	-0.39	-0.16	0.09	0.25	0.10	-0.21	-0.31	1.00		
Level	p Val	0.004	0.124	0.408	0.017	0.333	0.046	0.002	.		
	N	54	94	94	93	90	94	94	94		
Employed	Corr Val	0.11	0.08	-0.18	-0.22	-0.17	0.23	0.23	-0.58	1.00	
	p Val	0.432	0.434	0.102	0.036	0.130	0.032	0.029	0.000	.	
	N	49	88	88	87	84	88	88	88	88	
Annual	Corr Val	-0.26	-0.13	-0.03	0.15	0.09	-0.23	-0.11	0.12	-0.13	1.00
Income	p Val	0.063	0.227	0.769	0.180	0.400	0.030	0.321	0.258	0.250	.
	N	51	87	87	86	83	87	87	87	85	87

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Table VIII

INTERITEM CORRELATIONS AMONG FAMILIAL VARIABLES

		Domestic Violence	Mother Abused	Witness Mother's Abuse	Immed. Family Abuse	Extended Family Abuse
Domestic Violence	Corr Val	1				
	P Value	.				
	N	54				
Mother Abused	Corr Val	-0.171	1			
	P Value	0.220	.			
	N	53	92			
Witness Mother's Abuse	Corr Val	-0.096	0.778	1		
	P Value	0.493	0.000	.		
	N	53	92	92		
Immed. Family Abuse	Corr Val	-0.259	0.337	0.286	1	
	P Value	0.064	0.001	0.006	.	
	N	52	90	90	91	
Extended Family Abuse	Corr Val	-0.218	0.417	0.342	0.712	1
	P Value	0.120	0.000	0.001	0.000	.
	N	52	90	90	90	91

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Table IX

INTERITEM CORRELATIONS AMONG CULTURAL VARIABLES

		Domestic Violence	Slap OK	Superior
Domestic Violence	Corr Value	1		
	P Value	.		
	N	54		
Slap OK	Corr Value	-0.271	1	
	P Value	0.054	.	
	N	51	91	
Superior	Corr Value	0.131	-0.048	1
	P Value	0.351	0.651	.
	N	53	90	92

The Demographic correlation matrix (Table VII) shows that the higher the education level, the lower the risk of abuse. In addition, the older the women, the greater the chance that they had arranged marriages and were reared in India or Pakistan. Women whose marriages were arranged and were reared in India or Pakistan were also less likely to be divorced. The Familial correlation matrix (Table VIII) shows that generally, if their mother was abused, it was likely that the women witnessed the abuse against her. Further, women whose mothers were abused were also more likely to know of others in their immediate and extended families who were being abused. No significant associations were found in the correlation matrix with any variables within the Cultural category (Table IX). Also, since some research shows that illicit drug or alcohol use is positively associated with domestic violence, a correlation matrix was run to assess its relationship for the present study. However, since the analysis produced only 15 valid cases for this variable, no association was found.

The findings of the regression analyses demonstrate that only education is associated with domestic violence (see Table X). However, given the low participation rates, no predictors of violence were necessarily expected.

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TABLE X

EFFECTS OF DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES ON TOTAL ABUSE IN THE PAST YEAR

Independent Variable	Standardized Regression Coefficient (Beta)	Standard Error	T	P (2 tailed)	N
Age	-.005	.040	-.032	.974	47
Marital status	.210	.157	1.33	.191	47
Marriage arranged	-.089	.160	-.450	.656	47
Country reared	-.008	.230	-.044	.965	47
Religion	-.157	.185	-.873	.388	47
Ethnicity	.262	.200	1.44	.158	47
Educational level	-.479	.066	-2.60	.013**	47
Employment status	-.182	.110	-1.03	.307	47
Annual income	-.093	.031	-.607	.548	47

Adjusted $R^2 = .102$
$F = 1.583$
Model Significance = .156
**Statistically significant at the .01 level.

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TABLE XI

EFFECTS OF FAMILIAL VARIABLES ON TOTAL ABUSE IN THE PAST YEAR

Independent Variable	Standardized Regression Coefficient (Beta)	Standard Error	T	P (2 tailed)	N
Mother abused	-.142	.256	-.675	.503	51
Witnessed abuse against mother	.076	.123	.374	.710	51
Someone in immediate family currently being abused	-.203	.139	-1.01	.316	51
Someone in extended family currently being abused	-.043	.144	-.201	.842	51

Adjusted $R^2 = 0.00$
F = .987
Model Significance = .424

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TABLE XII

EFFECTS OF CULTURAL VARIABLES ON TOTAL ABUSE IN THE PAST YEAR

Independent Variable	Standardized Regression Coefficient (Beta)	Standard Error	T	P (2 tailed)	N
Culturally, okay if a man occasionally slaps a woman	-.259	.455	-1.84	.072	51
Culturally, who is superior (women, men or both equal)	.072	.144	.513	.610	51

Adjusted $R^2 = .040$
$F = 2.046$

5.4 Conclusions from Quantitative Data

The data demonstrates that level of education is the only factor associated with domestic violence. Given this finding, it is imperative that prevention strategies focus on increasing women's educational level to reduce their risk of abuse. Also, since the data shows that older women are less likely to divorce, education efforts must focus especially on the older Indian and Pakistani women. It is possible that the older women, reared in India or Pakistan, have been socialized into believing that divorce is a disgrace to the family and therefore they stay in their abusive relationships and endure the abuse.

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5.5 Findings from Individual In-Depth Interviews

Themes that emerged from the qualitative data are presented without the benefit of specific case histories of the women who were interviewed. Overall, gathering data for the present study was arduous, but even more difficult when women were asked to reveal the details of their lives. Many women simply did not want to interview while others volunteered initially and then canceled.

Of those who participated, most of the women refused to be audio taped while several of the women spoke to me under the condition that their specific circumstances be highly guarded. Indeed, after learning of the seriousness of their circumstances, I admired them for talking with me at all; of course, I wanted them to share their experiences of abuse with me so that others could be helped, so that I could complete this project, but at least two of the women were fleeing from their perpetrators. As they talked, I quickly recognized that they had serious life issues to sort out - no money, young children, little or no familial support, and stigma from some people in the community. Indeed, the immediate road ahead appeared to be dismal, burdensome and long. Despite the women's many fears and, paradoxically, though they needed assistance themselves, the women shared a painful part of their lives with me because they wanted to help other abused women. These victims of domestic violence were insistent that no one else should ever undergo the atrocities they encountered at the hands of their perpetrators.

Although this study was limited to Muslim and Hindu women, one Christian woman's responses were included for analyses because no association was found between religion and domestic violence (see Table VII).

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5.5.1 Women and Men's Roles in the Indian and Pakistani Family

Both the abused and non-abused groups concurred that rigid traditional roles imposed on Indian and Pakistani girls by their parents (particularly the mother because she is often the primary caretaker) provides some explanation to domestic violence within their communities. Consider these comments made by the respondents:

> "It is the mother's fault for raising boys one way and the girls another way. It is the upbringing."
>
> "Parents are the cause of abuse because they shouldn't be telling their daughters 'that's just the way it is (that's the life of women).' "
>
> "It's the way mothers raise their daughters. I blame parents to believe that it's okay to be beaten and abused; I personally feel it's unacceptable."
>
> "It's the mother's fault for raising their sons to be chauvinistic pigs."
>
> "I think it's how the girls are raised and I think we (Indians and Pakistanis) define domestic violence differently. Mothers raise the girls to be domestic."
>
> "Women take care of the home and men work."
>
> "Women tend to be soft."

One respondent, using the U.S. society as a comparison point, expressed that strict gender roles are positive because:

> "Roles are clearly defined and family life works out fine. It is stable and secure, but the negative side is that women tolerate a lot because they keep the family together. The family's unity depends on the women."

The rigidity of roles is, in turn, deeply entrenched as a cultural value - one that has shame and pride attached to it. The shame and pride act as mechanisms to pressure parents to rear their daughters (and sons) in a manner consistent with the patriarchal ideology that

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their communities espouse. Thus, a mother from the Indian and Pakistani communities that does not teach her daughter to perform traditional roles or behave in a traditional manner risks being talked about by her community.

Similarly, if a mother teaches her daughter the "proper" role of a woman and the daughter conforms, then the mother, daughter and family receive positive reinforcement which serves to continue this cycle. The tool for reinforcement is usually "talk" (gossip or praise) that is spread about the family. As praise, such reinforcement can increase marriage prospects for any single, marriage-aged child within the family and it can also elevate the family's social status. As gossip, such talk casts suspicion on the family as a unit.

On the macro level, the community attitude appears to be the engine that maintains and implicitly promotes violence against women within these communities. Given such pressure at the community level, family matters must be highly guarded because even slight aberrations of these norms may lead to public chastisement, a tactic aimed to primarily shape a woman's behavior.

The need to maintain a positive appearance for the sake of the community leads to the covering and, in many instances, the muting of significant suffering – including domestic violence. For example, women reported how the fear of gossip led them to stay in their abusive marriages:

> "People would talk and you know that is bad."
>
> "People talk and especially, I don't want my girls to have to hear this when they get older."

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> "He has told people that I left him with the kids and that I took gold jewelry and money with me. But everyone knows he gave me no money. I'm just glad he hasn't said that I left with another man - that would shatter me."
>
> "I stay because of my children and his position (within the community); people would talk."

One divorced woman explains how the community's opinion affects a woman's reputation:

> "There is a stigma that SHE is the one who did wrong. And if she goes back to India then she carries the stigma – they say that she is the one. Yes, her husband was bad (for abusing her), but she is the one who has the stigma."

The fact that she is stigmatized despite his wrongdoing provides support to the pro-feminist social learning theory which purports that without consequences, he is provided the message that he can continue his abusive behaviors. Another woman was so fearful of the community's perception of her and her family that she told her husband: "marry another woman, but don't leave me."

The community's approval (or lack of it) has direct implications for whether a woman marries and partially explains why girls receive little or no freedom in their parental homes. As one respondent explains:

> "It's cultural. How would it look if you see a girl going out all the time? It's a social taboo – you want a girl from a good family and good upbringing."

One abused woman regretted that she did not have the freedom to date because:

> "I didn't have chance to know anyone else and I thought men were supposed to be like this (abusive). If I know his true colors before (marriage), I would not have married him."

One woman attributed the abuse she experienced to her husband's family and their need to maintain appearances for the sake of the community:

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> "It started with verbal abuse, with fights, because I was vocal and voicing my opinion. In his family, they would not talk about anything confrontational. They would never do anything that would ruin society's view of the family - the appearance of it."

On the micro level, it is the socialization of children - again in a manner consistent with the community's expectations - where a woman is taught to be subservient to men and the pattern of her relationships with men, including her future husband, becomes implanted. Parent's socialization of their children into rigid traditional roles can be insidious – although usually it is not. While conducting these in-depth interviews, most of the women were clear and forthcoming about how they were socialized into a traditional woman's role, but a few of women could not discern how they were reared differently than their brothers. Only after further probing did they begin to talk about the differences in how they were reared.

A total of 6 women (4 abused and 2 non-abused) who had brothers reported that:

"They raised us as they would have raised sons."

> "The girls would come home from school and have chores, but the boys were told to focus on their school (work). I don't know if they really did (focus on school), but they were given the freedom. Going to the movies, they didn't have any curfews or any limits – they could go to the movies and come home at any time, but we couldn't go out alone or with girlfriends - at all."

> "Unfairly, very unfairly. They (boys) got respect and better everything; the girls didn't."

> "They (parents) were strict with us and protective of him."

> "We couldn't even talk about dating or men, it was taboo for us. But with him they teased him about girls."

> "The only different standards were that he could stay out as late as he wanted and as much as possible."

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"We were the ones who had a curfew while my brother could stay out as late as he wanted."

"The girls had most of the chores. You come home from school and then wash the dishes and fold the clothes."

"Of course they got more respect and freedom. That's how it is in our culture."

"They gave him more love and freedom."

In fact, restricting a woman's movement is not limited to the Indian and Pakistani cultures, as Dobash and Dobash (1979) explain:

"...the girl is always more controlled and restricted and her movements more closely supervised. These restrictions merely reflect the intention of giving her practice with those things that will eventually become her responsibility and of preventing her from straying too far into another world, where she might run the risk of rendering herself less 'fit', intellectually or sexually for marriage (p. 77)."

The women expressed disdain of their socialization through comments such as:

"It's wrong. I feel God will punish them (parents)."

" I am still angry and resentful."

"I dislike that a lot but there's not much you can do. That is the way we are raised."

"It was very hard being a woman at that time (when she was growing up). I hated being a woman at that time. Male dominance all over the place. The boundaries were lightly laid out - you're a girl and you do this, you're a boy and you do this. Women worked in teaching, but not college teaching; the roles were typical."

"Oh, I grew up resenting it and fighting it every step of the way. I would fight with my mom, I didn't dare fight with my dad because my mother said no. It is part of our culture and tradition."

"I didn't follow it (parent's socialization); half is intellectual and half is assimilated."

"It's our life. What can you do? It's okay, women can't do everything, but they should do what they want."

"It's B.S."

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At face value, these statements can easily lead to the conclusion that there is a discrepancy between some women despising their socialization to others accepting it. However, interpreting the latent content of the women's statements leads to the conclusion that, in fact, they all resent it. Those women who appear to be accepting their socialization, in spite of recognizing the unfairness of this practice against them, are perhaps giving up hope and do not want to fight a rigid, entrenched, and enduring system that has relegated them to second class citizenship. A cultural context that emphasizes gender roles so rigidly creates an environment that essentially permits a man to be abusive. It is possible, as pro-feminist social learning theory posits, that his behaviors are rewarded (unintentionally) through the community's adherence to strict gender roles. Hence, when she fails to perform her social gender role, his abusive behavior is "allowed" without consequences because he is simply carrying out the community's doctrines.

5.5.2 Cultural Belief in the Dominance of Men

The cultural value of male superiority is so deeply embedded in community members that women who voiced their hatred toward it appeared, at the same time, to have been co-opted by it. For example, one woman stated:

> "My family and friends said if I have son, then he (her husband) stop hitting me. I prayed and had my boy, but he never stop."

The ideal of having sons is so pervasive that one woman shared:

> "People in our community felt bad for my parents because they didn't have the 'good fortune' of having a son - we were all daughters, you know."

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Bearing a son is an important event for the Indian and Pakistani family and particularly advantageous for the woman who gives birth to a son. For the man and his family, the son is the vehicle by which his lineage continues. For the Indian/Pakistani woman, the son allows her to secure some power within the household (Miller, 1999) and the son is viewed as the future protector of his mother which serves as a constant threat to her husband to end his aggressions against her.

Almost all of the women in the present study perceived the superiority of men as a cultural norm, with one woman finding it necessary to clarify that Americans also have the same norm. Of the differences between men and women, the women said:

"Women are considered inferior and must be subservient."

"Boys got godly treatment and girls got trash treatment."

"Boys are better than girls."

"Women are nothing to them."

One woman reported that:

> "Some men are jerks and that is all it is, but it's also the way they are brought up. Whatever they think, whatever they say, and whatever they want is right. If he treats her like a dirt bag, it's okay. There's no (cultural) difference between Indian or Pakistani – they're all the same. It's the arranged marriage versus companionship; they don't know each other or for a short time and then they get married. If you date, then you know whether you want to marry them. Also, men are stronger and they can hurt a woman, so they do."

Men's superiority is not limited to making major household decisions, as one woman reported:

> "In my family, men ate first just because they are men and they are given that respect."

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Based on the interviews, three factors profoundly influence the power distribution and its subsequent impact for a woman in the Indian and Pakistani. The three factors are the widespread belief that men are superior to women, perpetuation of strict gender roles in the Indian and Pakistani family, and the socialization of members in these communities by (primarily) mothers consistent with the previous two factors. Paradoxically, mothers reinforce these values and impart them on to their male and female children.

5.5.3 Family Relationships

An Indian/Pakistani family prides itself on its loyalty and commitment to family members. The emphasis on collectivism rather than individualism is often discussed in the literature and was verbalized by some of the women interviewed for the present study. A family's relationships are viewed "with great respect" as one woman reported. It is expected, if not demanded, that the Indian and Pakistani family members be loyal to the family and its collective well-being. Yet, in the case of the abused woman from these communities, she must not expect that they will reciprocate the loyalty which they so fully demand of her. It appears that in her time of need, she may find herself alone; the "family" loyalty is therefore quite lop-sided. For example, one non-abused woman stated:

> "When you're married, you don't belong anywhere. You know your parents are always there for you, but I feel like they wept and said goodbye and I can't really go back there. I'm considered an outsider no matter what I gave up to come here (to the U.S.)."

Although she may get along with her in-laws, she may, of her own doing, not feel at home or they may reject her. And even when her family of origin loves her, they will not totally

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accept her back as they did when she was single. Consequently, she becomes displaced and finds herself alone. With little or no support from her family of origin and nowhere else to turn, the woman is vulnerable and probably more likely to accept some level of abuse from her husband. One woman reported that her husband was secure in abusing her because he knew:

> "My family loves me, but with children I can't go there. He knows that they won't take me and I have nowhere to go."

Another woman agreed that in the Indian and Pakistani culture, once married, a woman:

> "Doesn't (fully) belong anywhere."

Lack of familial support forced one woman to stay in her abusive marriage. As she explained:

> "I didn't tell them but they came to know and my brothers say I should go back to him. My sisters were glad I left. My friends helped me most."

Another woman cogently reported:

> "I feel no one should have to ride this emotional, verbal, sexual, or physical roller coaster of abuse. Girls should be encouraged to be strong and be educated. Parents shouldn't shelter their girls so much because when they are out there on their own in a bad relationship, they are lost. They (parents) are no support when you need support. What went wrong?"

Indeed, Shon and Ja (1982) observe that when an Indian woman gets married, she is to be absorbed into his family so that his family (and lineage) continue, but hers must cease to exist for her. However, the reality is that her family exists and the cruel irony is that they still expect her to be loyal to them by staying with him so the community will not talk - though she is abused. It is the woman's responsibility to be loyal to her family and to project them in positive light in the community. As one woman said:

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> "Family ties are strong, what is in the family is kept in the family; what's bad is not talked about, what is good is talked about. You suffer, but you do it for the family."

Another woman who left her abusive husband said:

> "My family was very upset. They did not understand, I didn't communicate to them. They don't accept it. They are coming around, but it was not easy. Only my sister talked to me; my brothers were mad."

In one instance, a woman was in critical condition and while in the hospital:

> "I told nurses and staff that I don't want to see him (the abusive husband), but my brothers said, 'No, he has right.' I said, 'What right? What are you talking about?'"

In this statement, an Indian and Pakistani woman's objectification is lucid; even in her sickness, her wishes are at risk of being ignored because of his supposed "rights" over her as though she was his property.

The value of loyalty to family that is instilled in Indian and Pakistani women extends into the women's relationships with their husbands and so, even if abused, the women appear to remain loyal - true to their upbringing. The abused women had this to say:

> "He was my baby - I did everything he wanted to keep him happy."

> "It's not his fault, it's his family and the way he was brought up. I'm not making excuses for him, but basically he is not a bad guy. He has a problem with anger."

> "He had five affairs and stayed with this one girl for six months. He would come to our house when he wanted. But I didn't leave because I love him."

Powerless, alone, sometimes without the support of their families, women remain in the homes of their husbands out of necessity. One woman simply resigned to her reality:

> "Mostly, mother-in-laws and husbands rule you. Where do you go?"

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5.5.4 Power and Control

When asked what they thought were reasons for domestic violence within their communities, abused women quickly pointed to men's issues of power and control while the non-abused women pointed to the community and its role in pressuring parents to socialize men as superior. Although the two sets of responses appear to be in conflict, they are not. The differences in response between the abused and non-abused women can be accounted for when abuse is viewed on a continuum of domestic violence. In this continuum, men are first socialized to think of themselves as privileged, superior, and "in-charge" of decision-making simply based on their gender. When men marry, they carry with them such training and, in marriage, where negotiation and compromise is often necessary with their wives, they view a woman's role as a challenge to their superiority and assert their "right" to final decision-making. In turn, they may respond violently to assert their power and control over the women. Indeed, most women in the present study identified "power," "control," and "dominance" as issues central to the abuse they experienced from their partners.

In an effort to control the women, at least two abused women in this sample reported, their husbands first isolated them from friends and family members. One woman explained how her husband, through more than 15 years of her marriage, managed to separate her from her family:

> "He did not like that my family visit me. My mother came for the first time last year to see me before she died. My dad never saw my house."

Another woman said that her family was also kept from visiting her because:

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> "He thinks that they eat here and tell me to go against him. They don't - they only support me (emotionally) when he hurts me. For years, they have not come; they hate him for hurting me."

Another woman explained how her husband controlled her while he was at work because he wanted to be sure that she did not do things he had prohibited her to do:

> "He call me 5-10 times everyday to ask what I was doing. I told him, 'Stop calling me!' So then he call and say he want to talk to my kids and he ask them 'What is mom doing?'"

Having successfully estranged her from her family, one man's next step was to isolate his wife from her friends. As she explained:

> "He said I liked women (lesbian), but I think he liked men because he was always with this one friend. You know, people suspect you of what they are."

Isolating a woman from her relatives, friends, and other support systems is a tactic used by abusive men to gain an exclusive right over her without "interference" from those who may be able to rescue her from his aggressions.

It is widely understood that both economic sufficiency and psychosocial reasons prohibit a woman from escaping abusive situations; these reasons hold true for the Indian and Pakistani women too. In fact, Gelles (1976) asserts economic sufficiency is the primary reason why women do not leave their abusers. One abused woman explained how her husband held her hostage financially:

> "I can't go to work to try and save money so I can leave because when I work, he makes me pay toward household expenses. He won't buy ANY groceries and I have kids. But if I don't work, then he has no problem paying for everything."

Similarly, another woman discussed her financial situation:

> "He gives me money for monthly things (menstrual cycle supplies); I have to ask him for money. He won't give me any for myself. He told me, 'I buy you name

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> clothes, I bring food and pay rent, what do you need?' He buys me name brand clothes because he wants me to look good for him. I told him 'You make me look good for you - not ME!'"

One woman succinctly summarized her position by saying:

> "My husband didn't want me to go to work, have friends or do anything. He gave me three children and years of abuse."

One abused woman explained how in her household:

> "even though a man is supposed to be the boss outside and a woman in the house, not in my house. He controls everything, he buys the groceries without me, he puts the meat in packages (based on per meal) and he puts specific number of quarters out for the laundry."

After enduring such severe psychological and financial abuse, even if the women are somehow able to successfully leave their abuser and become employed, it is likely that the effects of such abuse could haunt them as they attempt to rebuild their lives.

Responses to the question "In your culture, is it okay if a husband slaps his wife?" suggest that respondents generally believe that it is a man's prerogative to physically punish his wife. The women said:

> "Yes, it keeps her in her place."
>
> "No, it's not okay. But he acted wild when he hit me."
>
> "No, it's not okay, but it has become that way."
>
> "Yes, it's his right."
>
> "In our culture, yes. I never heard these things when I was growing up, but I know now in my adulthood that it was happening."
>
> "No, but in our culture, our definition of abuse is not so simple. We have to tell them that this is what it means to be domestic violence. Like raising your hand is violence; same with sexual abuse. They don't know that's domestic violence – they think that's how it's supposed to be, but no it's not!"

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Indeed, it is possible that Indian and Pakistani women have a greater tolerance for acts of aggression against them by their male partners. One respondent said that:

> "Women are severely abused--for years--before they come forward. They know they can call 911, but they are nervous of reporting it because they feel that their family business is out there."

One woman reported that:

> "He hit me right after we got married, I was young and I thought he was just dominant; he was supposed to do that. What did I know at that age?"

Whether it was a denial of abuse or fear of community perception, one severely abused woman who was encouraged by this researcher to seek assistance at the local Asian battered women's shelter said:

> "No, that's not a place for me. You know, my family is like that, we don't get help from those places - those places are for people who need it. You know."

Recognizing that appearances are important to maintain within the Indian and Pakistani community, seeking mental health services risks disgracing the family and so it is plausible that many women do not seek help for this reason. With or without social service assistance, the women's suffering due to abuse affects them to the very core of their existence. For example, one woman who was married for over 20 years poignantly explained how she felt when her husband physically hurt her:

> "He always hit me on my face. When someone hits you on your face, it affects your whole being - I don't know how to explain it. It hurts so much. I told him, 'why do you hit me on my face? Don't you like it? Do you want to disfigure me?' He said, 'No, I just don't know what I'm doing then. You are a part of me.' I told him, 'stop and think about that. If I am a part of you, then do you go and hit yourself? Do you go and bang your head or hit your face? Then why do you hit me if I am a part of you?"

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In the final analysis, the suggestion that a man cannot control himself during incidents when he hits her loses some of its validity in light of Straus' (1973, 1974) observation that when a man chooses to hit a woman as opposed to stabbing her, he is in fact operating with restraint and is aware of his behavior. The fact is that he does not stab her because he believes he can "get away" with hitting her. Indian and Pakistani men appear also to operate under the same modus operandi - they hit their partners because their communities and society have failed to penalize them thus implying they can "get away" with abusing her.

Of the women who experienced abuse, two stated that their husbands used alcohol during the period when they were abused. However, both women were quick to point out that alcohol did not cause their husbands to be abusive toward them, offering that:

"He's a chauvinist jerk, that's all."

"No, it's just the way he is."

5.5.5 Ambivalence Toward Country of Origin

All of the women had a positive attitude toward United States and preferred it instead of their own country because this country afforded them greater rights. Two abused women expressed disbelief that their "home" country allowed women to be treated so inhumanely. For example, one woman cried and said:

> "You know, it's MY country and I feel sorry about that (they don't provide protection to women)."

Another woman said:

> "I didn't know my country was like that (disregard for women)."

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One abused woman said:

> "Over there (in her country) they wouldn't have helped me. They would have taken his side."

I could sense the women grieving their multiple losses: loss of their life partner, a partner to whom they have been socialized to be loyal; the subsequent isolation from the community and sometimes the family; the stigma of divorce that will be permanently associated with them as they attempt to reconstruct their lives; loss of economic security; and loss of their national identity. On the one hand, the women were very proud of their country; on the other hand, they lamented that their country's laws failed to protect them. Subsequently, the women appeared to feel like refugees with no where to turn. It is true, as one woman keenly reported, the "U.S. society is also patriarchal," but it is also this society which provides them with basic protection their own countries have chosen not to provide. One woman reported that:

> "In Pakistan, they (society) will tell you to stay at your husband's house or kill you. Here they give you freedom, rights."

Only one woman in the sample believed that her country's norms were changing (albeit slightly) in their treatment of women:

> "Here (in the U.S.), you want change, you bark; in India, you don't bark. In India, a woman has a lot of power in the home and she doesn't shout it out. Real change comes about through talking instead of writing and court. Change is happening - women are getting out, divorce is heard of, and single women our age do stay single (without regard for what the community will say)."

Examining the responses between the abused and non-abused women regarding the comments made about their country, it appeared that as they were taught to be loyal to their families, so too were they taught to be loyal to their country of origin. The major

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differences appeared to be that the abused women were forthcoming with information regarding their countries and they usually shared their mourning as they came to the reality that their country had failed in protecting them. The non-abused women defended their countries, but ironically all of them earnestly sought to remain in the United States, sometimes going to great lengths in the immigration system to do so.

The abuse that immigrant Indian and Pakistani women experience in the United States appears to be heinous though not as barbaric as in their own countries. So, for example, the abuser may not throw acid on her or beat her severely, but he will force or pressure her into cosmetic surgery. As one professional woman shared:

> "The women are taken to plastic surgeons by their husbands to fix this and fix that. One woman asked (her husband) 'If I am so ugly, why did you marry me?' and the man responded 'That's why I married you, so no one else would want you.'"

By "fixing" her, he can now mold her to his liking; this form of abuse is not yet widely recognized in the United States, but it certainly constitutes as a form of abuse that may be gaining ground.

5.5.6 Conclusions from the Individual In-Depth Interviews

The individual interviews begin to demonstrate the depth and complexity of issues that must be carefully examined and exposed so that Indian and Pakistani women do not suffer from domestic violence. The risk of abuse for these women begins as children when both boys and girls are socialized into strict gender roles and where boys are, directly or indirectly, taught to think of themselves as superior to girls. Such thinking conveys the message that women are not as valuable as men and that it is okay to treat them as sub-

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human. In such a perspective, if she is abused it is not a crime against humanity, but simply a by-product of a system where a man exercised his prerogative.

A woman who has been systematically socialized to consider herself as inferior to a man will certainly have to contend with low self-esteem at some point in her life, if not throughout (Dobash and Dobash, 1978). An upbringing that constantly reminds the girl that she is inferior to a boy or that her welfare is not as important as a boy's results in power differentials that manifest negatively in her life as an adult. However, this upbringing does not occur in isolation from the larger community and societal messages that serve to reinforce the same message to women (Dobash and Dobash, 1979). Ultimately, a society, community, or a family that maintains the tradition that men are superior and women are inferior cannot escape its ramifications, one of which is domestic violence.

The analysis from the interviews led to the Atlas/ti generated model (Figure 1) of the influences of domestic violence within the Indian and Pakistani community. The model demonstrates support for two aspects of the pro-feminist social learning theory – that Indian and Pakistani communities tend to be patriarchal and that members of the community are generally indoctrinated to believe that males are superior.

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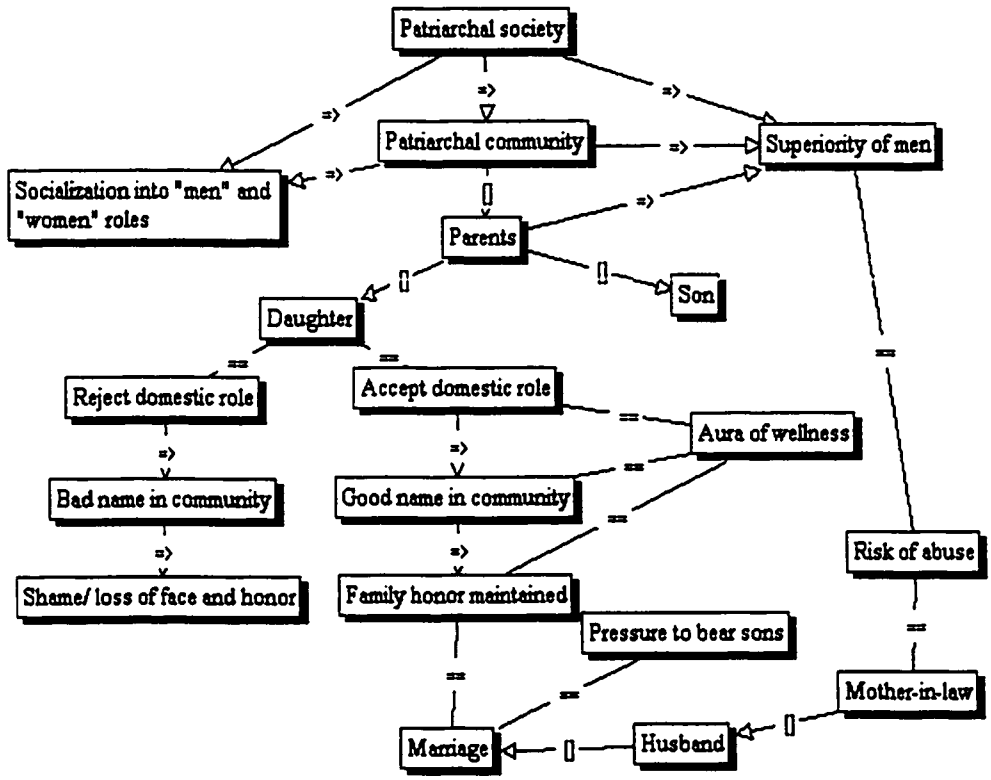

Figure 1 - Model of Factors that Lead to Domestic Violence within Indian and Pakistani Communities in the United States.

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6. DISCUSSION

6.1 Evidence of High Rates of Abuse

Unfortunately since no other systematic studies on domestic violence have been undertaken regarding the immigrant Indian and Pakistani communities in the United States, it makes the task of comparing findings for the present study impossible. Despite its significant shortcoming, however, comparison is made with studies whose populations are also immigrants in the United States. These studies erroneously classify "eastern" cultured women as "Asian." As pointed out earlier (see Section 3.1), this definition is often used for convenience though it is inaccurate because the term is applied to more than 25 groups who have some similarity in values, but are distinct in their own right.

The high rates of abuse discerned in the present study approximate those found in another study which measured domestic violence within the Japanese population in the United States. Yoshihama's (1996) study yielded a 41.2% lifetime prevalence rate of physical abuse for Japanese women in the Los Angeles area and the present study found a 48% lifetime rate of physical abuse for immigrant Indian and Pakistani women. Similarly, Tjaden and Thoennes (1998), in their nationally representative telephone survey sample of 8,005 men and 8,000 women, reported a 49.6% lifetime prevalence rate of physical abuse for Asians and Pacific Islanders in the United States (Asian n = 133).

Using the RCTS to gather data, Indian and Pakistani women had a lifetime abuse rate of 77%. Again, this finding is almost similar to Yoshihama's (1996) finding which revealed

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a lifetime abuse rate of 80% among Japanese women (she used the CTS to gather her data). Overall, rates of violence in immigrant households are high when compared with the general U.S. population, where lifetime (physical) abuse rates range from 20%-28% (Sorenson and Telles, 1991; Straus, 1977-78; Straus, 1980).

There are at least three possible explanations for the higher rates of domestic violence found in the present study. First, the present study included a larger number (55) of first generation rather than second generation (17) Indians and Pakistanis. It is possible that the second generation, more exposed to the "western" culture, has lost some of its traditional norms and simply does not tolerate abuse like its predecessors did.

Secondly, the higher rates may be a function of the RCTS instrument because it measures sexual coercion and injury, scales that were not included in the CTS (see section 4.4.1). Consequently, the RCTS also has more items (a grand total of 39 items compared to CTS' 19). The additional scales and greater number of questions probably results in elevated incidence of domestic violence. The present study benefited from the instrument change and captured more information which other studies did not. A final possible explanation for the higher rate of domestic violence among Indians and Pakistanis compared to that of the general population is that Indian and Pakistani women may be finally "naming" their experience (Gottfried, 1996). That is, they may be coming forward because exposure to western (U.S.) culture has helped them to recognize that domestic violence is not okay and it is not something that must be persevered or accepted as fate or karma; in fact, it is simply the ultimate debasement of human life and it is wrong. Unfortunately,

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when considering that "Asian...women (are) least likely to report rape and physical assault victimization" (Tjaden and Thoennes, 1998), the rates of violence found in the present study may be underestimates of the abuse that the women are actually experiencing.

Indeed, it is necessary that additional studies be undertaken to measure the rates of domestic violence within immigrant communities. However, such studies must be particularly attentive to the methodology and instrumentation used in collecting data; the instruments must be not only culturally sensitive, but must be developed with reference to the immigrant women's definitions of violence. In this respect, Yoshihama's (1996) contextual approach to gathering data on domestic violence, which is respondent driven, poses a significant danger of inadvertently contributing to inaccurate measurement. For instance, generally immigrant women do not seek support until the abuse has worsened because they appear to have a higher threshold for abuse. Thus, with the reality that domestic violence is already underreported, by not pre-defining some acts as abusive, immigrant women's violence may not be properly measured and therefore may not be given sufficient attention through research or resources.

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6.2 Factors Associated with Domestic Violence

The present study uncovered two primary risk factors of domestic violence for immigrant Indian and Pakistani women. The first factor, the level of education of the victim, was statistically supported. The second factor, the cultural belief that men are dominant, was supported through the in-depth interviews.

While these two factors are associated with domestic violence, they should not necessarily be interpreted as predictors of violence. Further, the present descriptive study focused on the victim of violence and not the perpetrator, and predictors of domestic violence are more likely to be found with the perpetrator.

Consistent with other studies (Straus and Smith, 1990; Leonard and Jacob, 1988; Leonard, Bromet, Parkinson, Day and Ryan, 1985; U.S. Department of Justice, 1998), lower educational level of the victim positively impacts risk for domestic violence within Indian and Pakistani communities in the United States. It is possible that women with lower educational levels are at greater risk of abuse simply because their limited education prevents them from economic and social opportunities that could enable them to escape from their violent partners. It is therefore incumbent that education efforts be undertaken with immigrant Indian and Pakistani women, particularly the older generation of women who reside in the U.S.

The cultural belief that men are dominant ("that men are superior" and "it is okay to occasionally slap women") was supported through individual interviews where both abused and non-abused women agreed that men are generally valued more than women in their

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communities. Such a finding supports other researchers' observation that "Asian" cultures generally view women as inferior to men (Ho, 1990; Yim, 1978; Yu, 1995; Rhee, 1997; Miller, 1999; Fernandez, 1995; Root, 1996; Huisman, 1996; Das Dasgupta and Warrier, 1996). Since women are generally devalued in some eastern immigrant communities, it becomes easier to objectify them and, once objectified, to strip them of their dignity and treat them as non-entities. Therefore, it is not surprising that women in these communities are abused at higher rates than women in the mainstream U.S. society.

The belief that males are superior implies that because women are not as worthy as men, their role in society (especially outside the household) is limited to functions that are generally deemed invaluable (and not as economically beneficial). The doctrine of female inferiority serves to pressure Indian and Pakistani women to conform to strict gender roles which, in turn, has implications for violence in their communities. After all, societies that hold to strict gender roles are more likely to experience violence (Levinson, 1989). The belief that men are superior also lays the foundation which implicitly "permits" a man to slap his wife. In fact, when asked if it was okay in their culture if a man occasionally slapped his wife, over 50% of the respondents reported that it was either okay or dependent on the circumstances. Such a finding suggests that slapping is a man's prerogative. Further, when examined within Levinson's (1989) framework of the three tiers of beating, this finding demonstrates that within the Indian and Pakistani communities, slapping (and by extension beating) can occur as a form of punishment (she may be suspected of flirting with

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other men), for cause (his belief that she did not perform a socially prescribed role), and at will (just because he can).

Variables that failed to show a positive association with domestic violence cannot be ruled out as possible contributors of domestic violence within the Indian and Pakistani communities because, as stated earlier, the present study examined victims of violence and predictors of violent behavior are more likely to be found with the perpetrators.

There are also interrelationships among factors that cannot be ignored and may serve as possible explanations of domestic violence within the immigrant Indian and Pakistani communities. For example, although income level was not a contributor of domestic violence in the present study, it is likely that women in families with lower educational levels also had lower incomes. Insofar as they had lower incomes, they probably had greater stress in the household; thus, lower income and higher stress levels in the household may be risk factors of domestic violence for Indian and Pakistani women. Indeed, Straus' (1990) study provides evidence that stress is associated with higher abuse levels, albeit the pro-feminist perspective would argue that using stress as an explanation for domestic violence relinquishes the perpetrator of his actions. For the immigrant Indian and Pakistani family in the United States, the likely sources of stress include immigration into a new country, language barriers, racial discrimination and consequently lack of social and/or economic opportunities, and perhaps children who may be assimilating "too rapidly" into the "western" culture.

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There are numerous other factors that probably impact risk for domestic violence within immigrant Indian and Pakistani communities in the United States, but were not within the scope of the present study. Factors such as divorce and dowry are attached with religious stipulations and cultural mores that can directly increase the risk for violence. In the Indian and Pakistani communities, divorce is socially frowned upon and, if it must occur, it is generally easier for men than women (Khan & Ayesha, 1982). For example, divorce in Hinduism constitutes a violation of religious duty and in Islam a man can unilaterally divorce his wife by saying "I divorce you" three times. Also, dower giving, a common cultural practice among both Hindus and Muslims, has transformed from a system of giving affordable marriage gifts to the daughter and son-in-law into a demanding system which aims to fulfill materialistic desires for both families. As Indians and Pakistanis, particularly the older generation, hold fast to beliefs such as men's superiority, they probably also bring to the U.S. doctrines related to divorce and dowry which can serve to increase a woman's risk for abuse.

The present study finds that 42% of the women were abused by someone other than their partner. The other perpetrators are mother-in-law (16%) and father (14%). This finding supports Fernandez (1995) and Hines et. al.'s (1992) assertion that mothers-in-law are also perpetrators of abuse against the Indian (Pakistani) woman. Indeed, Kandioti's (1988) "patriarchal bargain" explanation appears to be credible: to gain status and power for herself, the mother-in-law participates in the patriarchal system and is abusive toward her daughter-in-law, thus the oppressed becomes the oppressor. The significance of the mother-

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son tie at the core of Indian family relationships cannot be minimized because it appears to negatively impact the Indian and Pakistani woman's marriage, possibly serving as a risk factor for her abuse (although the mother-in-law relationship was not examined for the present study, but explored briefly when the women raised it as an issue in the individual in-depth interviews).

Various researchers have pointed to the "Asian" value of losing face and maintaining an aura of wellness for the sake of the community. While two principal risk factors of domestic violence have been explicated in the present study, the influence of the Indian and Pakistani cultural value which dictates not losing face and maintaining a positive appearance for the sake of the community serves to significantly influence domestic violence for the Indian and Pakistani woman. Such a desire, for the sake of impressing others, begins with the socialization of members into rigid and traditional roles and ends with directly or indirectly pressuring these women to stay with abusive men and suffer further injustices.

6.3 Help-Seeking

Given the reality that Indian and Pakistani women do not generally seek social service or mental health support because it could disgrace the family (Balgopal, 1995), it is nonetheless plausible that while occasional slaps do not evoke her to seek assistance, perhaps more severe abuse may. In fact, 41% of the respondents in the present study reported that they did not seek assistance for their abuse, thus providing support to Song

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(1996), Rhee (1997), Huisman (1996) and Yim's (1978) claim that immigrant women often do not seek assistance (or at least not until the abuse becomes severe). It may also be that they do not seek assistance because of fallacies within the system intended to help them. For example, one woman explained:

> "It's too hard with children and there is no help."

One severely abused woman explained that she could not seek help because:

> "He knows people everywhere; he buys them expensive gifts and makes friends with everyone. No, no one wants to get involved because he is very dangerous."

Another woman who had sought assistance said simply:

> "I stay and get abused by him or I try to get help and (while seeking assistance) feel like I get abused by them (the social service systems)."

Indeed, the women provided details on their attempts to get out of abusive relationships - the long waiting lists, boys over age 12 cannot stay with the women, constant referrals and short-term case management, and long waiting lists for pro bono lawyers. One woman reported that an agency in the Chicagoland area told her:

> "No going back and forth. You must leave him."

Understandably, at the practice level, frustration and disappointment are inevitable when abused women return to their perpetrators. However, demanding that she can have no choice in her future – even if it is to return to the one who hurt her – simply ignores existing knowledge that a woman is presented with many serious social, cultural, structural and legal barriers as she attempts to leave her perpetrator. The frustration expressed by these women as a result of their interactions with the social service system can easily lead one to conclude

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that these women may have experienced secondary victimization (Hattendorf, and Tellerud, 1997).

In addition to the widely recognized reasons for not leaving the abuser, such as lack of economic support, further threat of violence, lack of social support and opportunities, and inadequate child-care (Peled, Eisikovits, Enosh and Winstok, 2000), the immigrant Indian and Pakistani woman is faced with the threat of deportation. For example, in the present study, 12% of the women who were abused reported that their partner threatened to go to "immigration" or have them deported if they sought assistance for the abuse they were experiencing. It is possible that men who use the threat of deportation do so because it allows them to feel powerful and in control regardless of the threat's efficacy. In light of such a threat, a woman is forced to consider the social and economic repercussions of deportation. If she is deported, she must go back to her native country where she is either not welcomed by her family of origin because of the social (community) stigma or her family may be unable to support her financially. To compound matters further, if she has young children, her chances of remaining in an abusive relationship increase due to the social stigma. Given such considerations, going back to her natal home is not necessarily feasible, but staying with the perpetrator and enduring the abuse is a viable option.

Finally, the present study supports Song's (1996) assertion that domestic violence most often occurs within the first 5 years of arriving in the U.S. In fact, of the total sample that reported being abused by either a partner or someone other than their partner, 41% were abused within the first 2-5 years of arriving in the U.S. Since violence occurs soon after

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immigration into the United States, it is plausible that immigration and its subsequent array of issues may in fact cause stress and serve as impetus for the perpetrator to inflict violence on his partner.

6.4 Domestic Violence, Ethnicity, and Religion

Given the political conflict of their region, it was not surprising that both Hindus and Muslims blamed each other for perpetuating domestic violence; even, to my surprise, many professionals who sometimes justified their opinions on their personal experiences. For example, one Hindu woman said she knew Muslims were abusive through "my friends who are Muslims" or "in my work, I see mostly Muslims." Similarly, one Muslim woman stated that "they (Hindus) do that because Islam is against hurting women." In fact, for the present study, religion or ethnicity did not show association with domestic violence (see section 5.3), but cultural beliefs that promote male superiority are associated with domestic violence.

6.5 Implications for Social Work Practice

Abused Indian and Pakistani women encounter a complexity and magnitude of issues that require significant strength, resilience and fortitude for survival. Social work practitioners must never seek to assist these women without properly understanding the

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influence that Indian and Pakistani cultures and communities hold in shaping their women and the women's reactions to abuse or violence. The immediate implications for social work practitioners are to make conscientious efforts to become culturally educated and sensitive so that they can truly "begin where the client is."

The immigrant Indian and Pakistani women's help-seeking behaviors can only be understood if practitioners become educated about the Indian and Pakistani cultural context within which the women endure abuse. Practitioners must avoid the danger of simply diagnosing such women with depression or PTSD (Post Traumatic Stress Disorder) without considering and addressing the full spectrum of barriers these women must encounter before they even get to the practitioners doorstep.

In addition, practitioners can help the community through massive outreach and education efforts. Indians and Pakistanis must understand that domestic violence is destructive to their communities and families and that it is not okay, not kismet, and not legal in the United States. It is also critical that Indians and Pakistanis unite to combat domestic violence within their communities and imperative that they put aside their cultural and religious differences for the broader social reform that must occur if domestic violence is to be eradicated. Education with these communities must include information on the importance of research to understanding issues and subsequently designing effective interventions. As demonstrated in the present study, the older generation appears to be adhering to cultural mores that perhaps contribute to domestic violence (e.g. superiority of men) while the younger generation appears to be less faithful to such dogma. As such, a gap

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between the first and second generations is likely to cause friction and exacerbate social problems – particularly for the youth who may face being disowned for not following modus operandi. Thus, suicide, murder, juvenile delinquency, teenage pregnancy, domestic violence, and gangs are social problems that will probably impact these communities at higher rates than mainstream populations. As such, Indian and Pakistani communities need significant support and education as the assimilation process takes hold.

6.6 Implications for Social Work Policy

The present study begins to address the barriers that Indian and Pakistani women must cope with when they experience domestic violence. There are at least two significant policy implications based on the present study's findings. First, additional resources must be targeted to help women from these communities - and all abused women - rather than directing scarce resources only on a reactive basis such as medical expenses, litigation, and imprisonment of batterers. Secondly, policies related to the immigration status of these women in the U.S. must be flexible and supportive so that these women are not forced to return to their countries, where they are entrenched in systems that permit "honor killings."

Policies such as the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA) of 1994 are vital to the protection of battered immigrant women and must be reauthorized to alleviate the suffering of immigrant women. VAWA, among other protections, offers married immigrant women who have been abused the right to self-petition to remain in the United States without the knowledge or consent of their husband. In fact, it is unfortunate that the Civil Rights

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Remedy which was included in the VAWA of 1994 and allowed women to sue their assailants was not approved by the Supreme Court because it would have more fully supported abused women while appropriately conveying to the perpetrators that their behaviors come with consequences. Further, it is possible that suing for monetary damages could potentially deter some men from being abusive while finally compensating women at the most basic level.

6.7 Suggestions for Further Research

Suggestions for further research must be cautiously interpreted because, as stated earlier, the Indian and Pakistani communities are perhaps not yet ready to be researched. Therefore, it is important to first educate them on the significance of research and its usefulness for their communities.

The present study provides some empirical data on which to base future research efforts that use larger and randomly selected samples to examine violence against Indian and Pakistani women. Equally, it is important that qualitative research methods be utilized with larger samples of Indian and Pakistani women which will further our current understanding of the context within which violence occurs.

Regardless of methodology used, immediate research must first focus on the abused women and their oppressed status within this community so that their suffering can be alleviated. But if we are to ever achieve our goal of eradicating violence within society, one

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community at a time, it is also necessary to examine the Indian and Pakistani perpetrators and their realities. The perpetrators' characteristics are important to inspect so that prevention efforts can be properly devised and implemented for long-term solutions. Future studies can contribute enormously to our knowledge about domestic violence within Indian and Pakistani communities in the United States if they examine the impact that inter-parental violence has on children who witness abuse.

Finally, it is imperative that accurate measurement instruments be developed so that the immigrant woman's experience with domestic violence can be better captured, particularly since these women are being subjected to abuse at higher rates than the general U.S. population.

6.8 Strengths and Limitations of the Current Research

The primary strength of this study is that it contributes to our understanding of domestic violence against women within immigrant Indian and Pakistani communities in the United States. This study has provided information on the extent of domestic violence within Indian and Pakistani communities in the United States. A second strength of this research is that it goes beyond just measuring the extent of domestic violence (while this information is also significant since current information is limited) to examine cultural contextual factors that may impact the incidence of domestic violence within the Indian and Pakistani communities. This type of information is necessary, particularly given O'Keefe's

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(1994) assertion that the few studies on domestic violence among minority populations in the U.S. are significantly limited because they do not usually go beyond measuring prevalence. Information produced from this study is thus valuable given the limited research efforts on this specific population.

As with any research project, the present study has limitations and its findings must be interpreted with caution. A primary limitation of the present study is the use of a convenience (rather than representative) sample. While this strategy proved feasible in collecting information on immigrant victims of domestic violence, it also restricts the study's generalizability. Cultural issues also substantially limit the present study's findings. For example, due to the need to maintain a positive "front" for the sake of the community, many Indian and Pakistani women may have provided responses they thought an Indian researcher should receive rather than their actual experiences. Moreover, based on the fear that their identities may be discovered, many of the women refused to be audio-taped for the individual in-depth interviews; this limited the amount of data gathered.

It is also important to consider that the research design and methodology for the present study did not account for regional, class, and caste variations that pervade Indian and Pakistani societies and are carried with them into the United States. Regional, class, and caste associations do impact the frequency and severity of domestic violence an Indian woman experiences as demonstrated by Miller (1999) and Human Rights Watch (1999).

Another limitation of the present study is the use of the RCTS survey. The primary critique of the instrument is that it asks questions considered permissible to ask by "western"

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standards but taboo within the "eastern" frame of reference. So, for example, one worker at Asian Human Services who was helping to collect data explained how she felt embarrassed when translating questions inquiring about sexual abuse. Further, she explained, the word condom has no equivalent term in Hindi. Such cultural issues made it difficult to gather data using a "western" structured instrument. Another limitation of the present study is that approximately 17 surveys (18%) were received from a women's shelter thus it making it a clinical sample. Also, as with any survey, the RCTS requires long-term recall of participants that can be cumbersome and consequently may produce inaccurate information. Finally, the present study's sample is also geographically biased since a majority of the respondents are from Illinois.

6.9 Conclusion

This research was motivated to assist battered Indian and Pakistani women; producing knowledge about and for them so that direct service workers, activists, and many other professionals could use the information to help the Indian and Pakistani women whose voices have yet to be heard in the research forum.

As an American-Muslim of Indian descent and as a social worker, I undertook the task of researching domestic violence against women within immigrant Indian and Pakistani communities because there was practically no information on this topic. It was not with total naivette that I undertook this research, I was fully aware of the risks for me personally,

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namely of being outcast from the community as a consequence of this research. However, I pursued it because the risk for me, professionally and personally, is well worth taking. But I have little to lose in that respect because my background allows me to belong to several communities. It was the many courageous Indian and Pakistani women who had much to lose as they took the time to fill out the survey and share their stories with me. Indeed, many of these women still identified strongly with the Indian and Pakistani communities, and despite the risk of their confidentiality being violated (as with any research project), they gave to me and to the community. The women gave so that this research was possible; they gave so that social service and mental health professionals can now use the information for their benefit, and they gave so that other women should not suffer the ill effects of domestic violence. This research is for all the abused Indian and Pakistani women who suffer cruelty and injustices, who are humiliated, degraded and demeaned and whose precious lives are debased and sometimes ended simply because of their gender. This is for all abused Indian and Pakistani women so that practitioners and policy-makers can serve them through an informed perspective.

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APPENDICES

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APPENDIX A

DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN WITHIN IMMIGRANT INDIAN AND PAKISTANI COMMUNITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

Hello. You are being asked to complete this survey because I am interested in finding out about domestic violence against women within the immigrant Indian and Pakistani communities in the United States. The information you provide will benefit many people, especially those who have experienced domestic violence. Please know that **your responses cannot be identified with you in any way** and your input is highly valuable.

1. Where do you live? (check only one)
   ____1. Illinois (77.2%) ___3. New York (1.1%) ___5.Other (17%)
   ____2. California (4.3%) ___4. New Jersey (1.1%)

2. What is your age? (check only one)
   ____1. 18-25 (20.2%) ____4. 36-40 (10.6%) ____7. 51-55 (1.1%)
   ____2. 26-30 (23.4%) ____5. 41-45 (10.6%) ____8. 56-60 (2.1%)
   ____3. 31-35 (20.2%) ____6. 46-50 (7.4%) ____9. Over 60 (4.3%)

3. What is your level of education? (check only one)
   __1. Not a high school graduate (16%) __3. Some college (16 %) ___5. Post graduate
   __2. High school graduate (14.9%) __4. College graduate (27.7%) degree (25.5%)

4. What is your current marital status? (check only one)
   ____1. Married (69%) _____3. Widowed (2.1%)
   ____2. Never Married (23.4%) _____4. Divorced (5.3 %)

5. With which country do you identify most (check only one)?
   ____1. India (42.6 %) ____2. Pakistan (36.2%) ____3. U.S.A (21.3%)___4. Other

6. If you are married, was your marriage arranged? (check only one)
   ___1. Yes (57%) ____2. No (20.4%) ____3. Not Applicable (22.6%)

7. What is your ethnicity? (check only one)
   ___1. Indian (59.6%) ____2. Pakistani (40.4%) ____3. Other

8. Were you reared in (check only one):
   ____1. India or Pakistan (first generation) (70.3%)
   ____2. U.S. (second generation) (28.6%) ____3. Elsewhere (specify) (1.1%)

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9. What is your religion? (check only one)
   __1. Hindu (44.7%) __2. Muslim (55.3%) __3. Other

10. In your culture, is it okay if a husband occasionally slaps his wife? (check only one)
    ___1. Yes (41.8%)____2. No (47.3%) ___3. Depends on the circumstances (11%)

11. In your culture are (check only one):
    ___1. Women considered superior to men (3.3%)
    ___2. Both women and men are equal (31.5%)
    ___3. Men considered superior to women (65.2%)

Now, you will be asked some questions regarding relationship behaviors with your male partner. No matter how well a couple gets along, there are times when they disagree, get annoyed with the other person, want different things from each other, or just have spats or fights because they are in a bad mood, tired, or for some other reason. Couples also have many different ways of trying to settle their differences. Please circle how many times your partner did these things in the past year. If your partner did not do one of these thing in the past year, but it did happen before, circle "7."

1 = Once in the Past Year	**5** = 11-20 Times in the Past Year
2 = Twice in the Past Year	**6** = More than 20 Times in the Past Year
3 = 3-5 Times in the Past Year	**7** = Not in the Past Year, but it did happen before
4 = 6-10 Times in the Past Year	**0** = This Has Never Happened

12. My partner showed care for me even though we disagreed	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
13. My partner explained his or her side of a disagreement to me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
14. My partner showed respect for my feelings about an issue	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
15. My partner was sure we could work out a problem	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0

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4 = 6-10 Times in the Past Year	**0** = This Has Never Happened

16. My partner suggested a compromise to a disagreement 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0

17. My partner agreed to a solution I suggested 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0

18. My partner insulted or swore at me 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0

19. My partner threw something that could hurt me 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0

20. My partner twisted my arm or hair 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0

21. I had a sprain, bruise or cut because of a fight with my partner 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0

22. My partner made me have sex without a condom 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0

23. My partner pushed or shoved me 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0

24. My partner used force (like hitting, holding down, or using a weapon) to make me have oral or anal sex 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0

25. My partner used a knife or gun on me 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0

26. I passed out from being hit on the head by my partner in a fight 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0

27. My partner called me fat or ugly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0

28. My partner punched or hit me with something that could hurt 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0

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4 = 6-10 Times in the Past Year	0 = This Has Never Happened

29. My partner destroyed something belonging to me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
30. I went to a doctor because of a fight with my partner	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
31. My partner choked me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
32. My partner shouted or yelled at me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
33. My partner slammed me against a wall	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
34. I needed to see a doctor because of a fight with my partner	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
35. My partner beat me up	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
36. My partner grabbed me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
37. My partner used force (like hitting, holding down, or using a weapon) to make me have sex	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
38. My partner stomped out of the room or house or yard during a disagreement	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
39. My partner insisted on sex when I did not want to (but did not use physical force)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
40. My partner slapped me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
41. I had a broken bone from a fight with my partner	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0

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4 = 6-10 Times in the Past Year	**0** = This Has Never Happened

42. My partner used threats to make me have oral or anal sex	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
43. My partner burned or scalded me on purpose	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
44. My partner insisted I have oral or anal sex (but did not use physical force)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
45. My partner accused me of being a lousy lover	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
46. My partner did something to spite me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
47. My partner threatened to hit or throw something at me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
48. I felt physical pain that still hurt the next day because of a fight with my partner	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
49. My partner kicked me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0
50. My partner used threats to make me have sex	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	0

51. If you have been abused by your partner, did he ever threaten to go to immigration or have you deported if you sought help?
___1. Yes (12.2%) ___2. No (35.6%) ___3. Not applicable (52.2%)

52. If you are a U.S. citizen, do you feel that your partner married you only to enter this country?
___1. Yes (6.7%) ___2. No (25.8%) ___3. Not applicable (67.4%)

53. Other than your partner, have you been abused by anyone? (check only one)
___1. Yes (41.8%) ___2. No (58.2%)

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54. Who, other than your partner, abused you? (check all that apply)

___1. Brother (10.8%) ___4. Sister (2.2%) ___7. Father-in-law (41.9%)
___2. Father (14%) ___5. Other Family Members (5.4%) ___8. Other-in-laws (6.5%)
___3. Mother (4.3%) ___6. Mother-in-law (16.1%) ___9. Not Applicable

55. How were you abused by someone other than your partner? (check all that apply)

___1. Emotionally (38%) ___2. Physically (13%)
___3. Sexually (1.1%) ___4. Not applicable

56. In what country did you experience the abuse by your partner or someone else? (check all that apply)

____1. U.S. (30.1%) ___2. India (9.7%)
____3. Pakistan (2.2%) ___4. Not applicable

57. If you were abused in the U.S. by either your partner or someone else, how soon after your arrival to this country did you experience abuse? (check only one)

___1. 1st day-1 year (23.9%) ___3. 2 years -5 years (7.6%) ___5. More than 8 years (2.2%)
___2. 1 year- 2 years (9.8%) ___4. 5 years -7 years (3.3%) ___6. Not applicable (53.3%)

58. Did you seek assistance for the abuse you experienced? (check only one)

___1. Yes (14.3%) ____2. No (45.1%) ___3. Not applicable (40.7%)

60. Did any of the person or persons who abused you use: (check only one)

____1. Alcohol (16.5%) ____3. Did not drink or use drugs (26.4%)
____2. Illegal Drugs (.9%) ____4. Not applicable (57.1%)

61. Was your mother abused (emotionally, physically, or sexually)? (check only one)

___1. Yes (40.2%) ___2. No (58.7%)

62. If your mother was abused, did you witness this abuse? (check only one)

___1. Yes (29.3%) ___2. No (13%) ___3. Not applicable

63. If your mother was abused, who abused her (e.g. husband, son, mother, daughter, etc.)?

_____

64. If your mother was abused, how was she abused? (check all that apply)

___1. Emotionally (38.9%) ___3. Sexually (5.6%)
___2. Physically (24.4%) ___4. Not applicable

65. Is anyone in your immediate family currently being abused (emotional, sexual, or physical)? (check only one)

___1. Yes (26.4%) ___2. No (47.3%) ___3. Not Sure (25.3%)

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66. Is anyone in your extended family currently being abused (emotional, sexual, or physical)? (check only one)

___1. Yes (42.9%) ___2. No (30.8%) ___3. Not Sure (26.4%)

67. Do you know anyone within the Indian or Pakistani communities living in the U.S. who has been or is currently being abused (emotional, sexual, or physical)? (check only one)

___1. Yes (64.4%) ___2. No (34.5%)

68. Are you employed:

___1. Full-Time (42%) ___2. Part-time (23.9%) ___3.Unemployed (34%)

69. Which of the following categories most accurately reflects your ANNUAL family income? (**Remember that this survey cannot be identified with you in any way**) (check only one)

___1. Under $5,000 (3.4%)
___2. $5,000-9,999 (6.9%)
___3. $10,000-14,999 (4.6%)
___4. $15,000-19,999 (2.3%)
___5. $20,000-24,999 (9.2%)
___6. $25,000-29,999 (9.2%)
___7. $30,000-34,999 (9.2%)
___8. $35,000-39,999 (4.6%)
___9. $40,000 + (32.2%)
___10. Don't know (18.4%)

If you live in Chicago and are willing to participate in an individualized interview with the Principle Researcher of this project then please provide your first name only (it can be false) and phone number OR call me at the phone number provided on the consent form. The interview will take approximately 1 hour at a location convenient for you.

Your Name_____Phone Number ( )_____

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME IN COMPLETING THIS SURVEY. PLEASE KNOW THAT YOUR RESPONSES ARE VALUABLE AND WILL BENEFIT MANY PEOPLE.

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APPENDIX B

Domestic Violence Against Women
Within Immigrant Indian and Pakistani Communities in the United States

Informed Consent Form

I agree to participate in the study of Domestic Violence Against Women Within Immigrant Indian and Pakistani Communities in the United States. This study is being carried out by Najma M. Adam under the supervision of Dr. Larry Bennett, Professor at Jane Addams College of Social Work, University of Illinois at Chicago (UIC).

It has been explained to me that the purpose of the study is to understand the extent of domestic violence within immigrant Indian and Pakistani communities in the United States and to find out if there are any cultural factors that prevent or promote domestic violence within these groups. In collecting this information, I understand that the researcher will use the findings to demonstrate the nature of violence within the immigrant Indian and Pakistani communities.

I further understand that the information disclosed is strictly confidential. The survey that I complete does not require my name and has no identifying information on it to secure anonymity. I also understand that I may choose to participate in an individual in-depth interview with the researcher for approximately 1 hour. In this case, I will voluntarily provide my first name only and phone number and understand that both shall remain confidential. During the interview, should any topic come up for discussion that causes me discomfort, I am free to stop participating in the interviewing.

I have been fully informed of the procedures described above with their possible benefits and risks and with a full understanding of what is involved. I hereby agree to become a respondent. I know that I may withdraw consent and discontinue participation in this study at any time and I acknowledge that I received a copy of this consent.

Respondent_____Date_____

Principle Researcher
Najma M. Adam
Doctoral Candidate
University of Illinois at Chicago
Jane Addams College of Social Work
(Phone Number Provided)

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APPENDIX C

Domestic Violence Against Women
Within Immigrant Indian and Pakistani Communities in the United States
Interview Guide for In-Depth Interviews

Hello. I appreciate your time in talking to me. Before we start, let me tell you a little about this project. I'm interested in finding out your perspective about domestic violence against women within the Indian and Pakistani communities in the U.S. The information you share with me will be used for my dissertation. Nothing you say will be shared with anyone else and your name will not be associated with any of the responses you give me. If at any point you feel uncomfortable with what we are talking about, please feel free to stop me.

Date:_____ Location:_____

1. What is your culture?

2. Can you describe for me what men and women's roles are in your culture?

   a. How do you feel about this?

3. In what country were you raised?

   a. How long have you been in the U.S.?

   b. What has been your experience of this country?

4. How does your culture view family relationships?

5. Describe for me how it was for you growing up in your family?

6. Do you have brothers?

   a. How do you feel that your parents raised you compared to your brothers?

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The next several questions I ask are specifically about your relationship with your male partner. If you don't have a male partner, then please just share with me your knowledge of relationship expectations within your culture. Some of the questions are about abuse. I am giving you a handout that explains what I mean by abuse but I also want to read it to you. Abuse can be either sexual, physical or emotional. Sexual abuse refers to making you do sexual things against your will, attacking your sexual parts or treating you like a sex object. Physical abuse refers to pushing, hitting, slapping, choking, grabbing, punching, kicking, twisting your arms, tripping you, throwing you down or throwing you against the wall, or using a weapon against you. Finally, emotional abuse refers to putting you down, making you feel bad about yourself, or calling you names.

7. Are you married?

   a. If so, how did you get married (arranged/love)?

   b. How do you feel your marriage is different than "American" marriages?

8. In your culture, is it okay if a husband occasionally slaps his wife?

9. From the hand out I gave you on definitions of abuse, would you say that you've been abused by your male partner?

   ____1. Yes ____2. No

   If yes,

   a. How long have you been in this abusive relationship?

   b. Did the person who abused you use alcohol or illegal drugs?

   c. Are you planning on:

   ____1. Staying ____2. Staying for now ___3. Leaving

   d. If staying, why?

   e. If leaving, do you have a plan (when, where will you go, etc)?

   f. What is the plan?

10. Were you being abused in your country?

11. If no, how soon after your arrival in this country did you experience violence?

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12. If you have been abused, have you ever sought help?

    a. Why/Why not?

13. Are you a past victim of violence by your male partner?

    If yes (past victim),

    a. Are you still in the relationship?

    b. How long were you in this abusive relationship?

    c. Did you seek help for the abuse you experienced?

    d. Why/Why not?

    e. Did the person who abused you use alcohol or illegal drugs?

    f. What happened to the relationship?

14. Have you ever been abused by anyone other than your male partner?

    a. Who?

    b. What happened?

15. Was your mother abused (emotionally, physically, or sexually)?

    a. If she was abused, tell me more about it (who, how, did you witness it)?

16. Do you know if anyone in your immediate or extended family in the United States being abused?

17. Do you know of anyone within the Indian or Pakistani communities living in the U.S. who has been or is currently being abused (emotional, sexual, or physical)?

Demographic Questions

18. How old are you:

____1. 18-25	____4. 36-40	____7. 51-55
____2. 26-30	____5. 41-45	____8. 56-60
____3. 31-35	____6. 46-50	____9. Over 60

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19. Do you have any children? _____number_____ages

20. What is your level of education?
_____1. Not a high school graduate
_____2. High school graduate
_____3. Some college
_____4. College graduate
____5. Post graduate degree

21. Which country do you identify with most?

____1. India ____2. Pakistan ____3. U.S.A ___4. Other

22. In what country were you raised:
___1. India ___2. Pakistan ___3. U.S.A ___4. Other

23. What is your religion: 1. Hindu 2. Muslim ___4. Other

24. Are you currently employed: Full-Time Part-Time Unemployed

25. What is your current marital status?
____1. Married
____2. Never Married
_____3. Widowed
_____4. Divorced

26. Which of the following categories most accurately reflects your annual family income? (remember that this survey cannot be identified with you in any way.

___1. Under $5,000
___2. $5,000-9,999
___3. $10,000-14,999
___4. $15,000-19,999
___5. $20,000-24,999
___6. $25,000-29,999
___7. $30,000-34,999
___8. $35,000-39,999
___9. $40,000 +
___10. Don't know

27. Anything else you'd like to share with me regarding domestic violence in the Indian and Pakistani Communities?

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DEFINITION OF ABUSE

Abuse can be sexual, physical or emotional.

Sexual abuse refers to making you do sexual things against your will, attacking your sexual parts or treating you like a sex object.

Physical abuse refers to pushing, hitting, slapping, choking, grabbing, punching, kicking, twisting your arms, tripping you, throwing you down or throwing you against the wall, or using a weapon against you.

Emotional abuse refers to putting you down, making you feel bad about yourself, or calling you names.

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APPENDIX D
Resources for Domestic Violence
Chicago, Illinois

National Coalition of Domestic Violence	1-800-799-SAFE 1-800-787-3224 (TDD)
Illinois Coalition Against Domestic Violence (state coalition)	217-789-2830
City of Chicago 24 Hour Confidential DV Hotline	312-744-5000 1-877-863-6338
Access Living (Provide Housing Assistance for DV victims)	312-226-5900
Apna Ghar 24 hour Hotline (Specializes in Service to Asian Women)	773-334-0173 773-334-4663
Chicago Abused Women Coalition 24 hour Hotline	312-278-4110 773-278-4566
Cook County State's Attorney Domestic Violence Court Program	312-341-2743
Hull House Association Domestic Violence Court Advocacy Project (help with order of protection, referrals to counseling, food, clothing and shelters)	312-341-2883
The Salvation Army Family Services (counseling for abused women)	847-981-9113
Women Employed (pre-employment program)	312-782-3902
Project Safe (help with immigration, child support, shelter)	312-341-1070
Child Support Enforcement Agency	312-793-3291
Child Support for Public Aid Client	1-800-447-4278

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Resources for Domestic Violence
California (Statewide)

National Coalition of Domestic Violence	1-800-799-SAFE	1-800-787-3224 (TDD)
California Alliance Against Domestic Violence	909-444-71633	
Statewide California Coalition for Battered Women	818-787-0072	
Sahara (Los Angeles) (specializes in services to Asian women)	888-724-2722	
Trikone (San Jose) (specializes in services to Asian women)	408-270-8776	
Refugee and Immigrant Services (specializes in services to immigrants)	408-299-6970	
Housing Choices Coalition	408-970-0787	
Maitri (specializes in services to Asian women)	408-730-4049	
Mental Health Crisis Line	800-222-8220	
Narika (specializes in services to Asian women)	800-215-7308	
Sahara (specializes in services to Asian women)	888-724-2722	
Shamokami (specializes in services to Asian women)	203-624-8727	
Women Organized to Make Abuse Nonexistent Inc.	415-864-4722	
Asian Women's Resource Center (specializes in services to Asian women)	415-788-1008	
Asian Women's Shelter (specializes in services to Asian women)	415-751-7110; 751-0880; 731-7100	
Korean American Community Center (specializes in services to Asians)	415-252-1346	

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Resources for Domestic Violence
California (San Jose and San Francisco)

National Coalition of Domestic Violence	1-800-799-SAFE	1-800-787-3224 (TDD)
California Alliance Against Domestic Violence	909-444-71633	
Statewide California Coalition for Battered Women	818-787-0072	
Sahara (Los Angeles) (specializes in services to Asian women)	888-724-2722	
Trikone (San Jose) (specializes in services to Asian women)	408-270-8776	
Refugee and Immigrant Services (specializes in services to immigrants)	408-299-6970	
San Jose Shelter Foundation	408- 297-1737	
Housing Choices Coalition	408-970-0787	
MHONA (International Center For and By Victims and Survivors of Violent Crimes)	415-759-7923	
Mental Health Crisis Line	800-222-8220	
Women Organized to Make Abuse Nonexistent Inc.	415-864-4722	
Women's Economic Network	415-981-8845	
Women's Initiative For Self Employment	415-247-9473	
Asian Women's Resource Center (specializes in services to Asian women)	415-788-1008	
Asian Women's Shelter (specializes in services to Asian women)	415-751-7110; 751-0880; 731-7100	
Korean American Community Center (specializes in services to Asians)	415-252-1346	

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Resources for Domestic Violence
Massachusetts (Statewide)

National Coalition of Domestic Violence	1-800-799-SAFE	1-800-787-3224 (TDD)
Massachusetts Coalition of Battered Women's Service Groups		617/248-0922
Family Court Domestic Violence		401-222-6942
Pam Roberts Domestic Violence Crisis Line		860-774-8648
Domestic Violence Intervention		508-487-6333
Karen King Domestic Violence Crisis Line		860-456-9476

ASIAN DOMESTIC VIOLENCE ORGANIZATIONS IN OTHER STATES

Asian Women's Resource Center (California) (specializes in services to Asian women)	415-788-1008
Apna Ghar (Illinois) (specializes in services to Asian women)	773-334-0173
Sakhi for South Asian Women (New York) (specializes in services to Asian women)	212-695-5447
Maitri (California) (specializes in services to Asian women)	408-730-4049
SAWERA (Oregon) (specializes in services to Asian women)	703-778-7386
Asha (Washington, D.C.) (specializes in services to Asian women)	888-417-2742

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Resources for Domestic Violence
Virginia and Surrounding Area

National Coalition of Domestic Violence	1-800-799-SAFE	1-800-787-3224 (TDD)
DC Coalition Against Domestic Violence		202-387-5630
Virginians Against Domestic Violence		757-221-0990
Maryland Network Against Domestic Violence		301-352-4574
Domestic Violence Center - Howard		410-997-0304
Domestic Violence Rape Hotline		304-263-8292
Asha (specializes in services to Asian women)		888-417-2742 (DC)
Samhati (specializes in services to Asian women)		301-229-6597

ASIAN DOMESTIC VIOLENCE ORGANIZATIONS IN OTHER STATES

Asian Women's Resource Center (California) (specializes in services to Asian women)	415-788-1008
Apna Ghar (specializes in services to Asian women)	773-334-0173
Manavi (New Jersey) (specializes in services to Asian women)	908-687-2662
Maitri (California) (specializes in services to Asian women)	408-730-4049
SAWERA (Oregon) (specializes in services to Asian women)	703-778-7386
Asha (specializes in services to Asian women)	888-417-2742

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Resources for Domestic Violence
New York (New York)

National Coalition of Domestic Violence	1-800-799-SAFE 1-800-787-3224 (TDD)
New York State Coalition Against Domestic Violence	518-432-4864
New York State Domestic Violence Hotline	1-800-942-6906
New York City Domestic Violence Hotline	1-800-621-HOPE
Hostos Women and Immigrants Rights Center (Bronx)	718-518-4311
Arab-American Family Support (Brooklyn) (specializes in services to Arab-Muslim women)	(718)-643-8000
New York Asian Women's Center (Manhattan) (specializes in services to Asian women)	888-888-7702
Sakhi for South Asian Women (city-wide) (specializes in services to Asian women)	212-695-5447
Korean-American Family Services (city-wide) (specializes in services to Asian women)	212-465-0664
South Asian-American Women's Association (specializes in services to Asian women)	607-962-3277
Helping Professionals of American Association of Psychologists from India	718-353-9206
Nav Nirmaan Foundation (specializes in services to Asian women)	718-478-4588
Pragati Inc. (women of Indian origin) (specializes in services to Asian women)	718-456-4712

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Resources for Domestic Violence
New Jersey (Statewide)

National Coalition of Domestic Violence	1-800-799-SAFE 1-800-787-3224 (TDD)
New Jersey Coalition for Battered Women	609-584-8107
Statewide Domestic Violence Hotline	1-800-572-7233
Resource Center for Women and Their Families	908-302-2545; 908-685-1122
Manavi (specializes in services to Asian women)	908-687-2662
Alternatives to Violence (Atlantic County)	609-646-6775
Emergency Shelter 24 Hour Hotline (Camden County)	609-227-1234
Gloucester County (Transitional Housing Available)	609-881-3335
Mercer County (Domestic Violence Outreach)	609-394-2532
Monmouth County (24 Hour Hotline)	1-888-843-9262
Salem County (Sexual Assault/Rape Crisis)	609-935-6655
Somerset County (24 Hour Hotline)	908-359-0003
Sussex County (Outreach)	973-579-2386
Union County (Emergency Shelter)	908-355-4357
Warren County (Outreach Services)	908-475-8408

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APPENDIX E

Instructions For Collecting Data

Hello. Thank you very much for your kindness in agreeing to help me with this research project. Before I detail the instructions on how to distribute and collect the questionnaires, it is important that you understand the criteria and method of selecting women for this study. Know that only women who are Indian or Pakistani and Hindu or Muslim are to be recruited for this study. Age and marital status are not a consideration for participation so please feel free to approach all women who fit the two criteria for this study. Also, to assure the safety of the women, please do not ask them to help fill out the questionnaire if they are with a male. This could influence the women's responses at best and jeopardize her safety at worst. However, you can approach a woman who is alone or a group of women together. Now, here is how to collect the information:

1. Read the attached script to women of Indian and Pakistani background.
2. If they meet the criteria for this study and voluntarily agree to participate in this study, then read the consent sheet to them. (If they are of Indian background, but aren't Muslim or Hindu, that's okay too. Have them fill out the survey if they wish to participate)
3. Ask them if they understand the consent sheet and if they have any questions, if you can answer the questions then please do so, but if you feel at all uncertain, please have them call me, the principal researcher. My number is (home number provided).
4. If there are no questions or issues and they sign the consent sheet, give them a copy of the consent sheet if they wish to have it. It may be that they may not want the information because having it could jeopardize their safety (in case the abusive man sees it).
5. Provide them with a questionnaire and a pen/pencil.
6. Be available for any questions on the instrument while the women fill out the questionnaire. The instrument is self-explanatory, but they may need assistance.
7. When they complete the questionnaire and return it to you, thank them sincerely for their cooperation and time.
8. Give all women a copy of the resource sheet that lists national, state, and local domestic violence agencies. Explain to them that this includes agencies with 24 hour hotlines and also agencies that specialize in serving Asian women in case they or someone they know may need assistance.
   Mail the completed questionnaires and consents to me (Najma M. Adam) in the self-addressed and stamped envelope.
9. If at any point anyone has questions, please feel free to call me at (home number provided).
10. I understand that the questions are of a sensitive nature and very personal, but please explain to the women that we really need their assistance and cooperation in getting honest information.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR HELP. THIS INFORMATION WILL HELP MANY – PRIMARILY INDIAN AND PAKISTANI WOMEN WHO ARE ABUSED AND THE AGENCIES STRIVING TO PROVIDE SERVICES TO THEM.

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APPENDIX F

Script for Recruitment

Hello. I'm helping a researcher who is doing a study on Domestic Violence Against Women Within Immigrant Indian and Pakistani Communities in the United States and I was wondering if you can help us?

First, in order to participate in this study, you must meet the following two requirements:

1. You must be from **OR** have origins from India or Pakistan.
2. You must be either Muslim **OR** Hindu.

If you meet these requirements, then all I need is approximately 15-20 minutes of your time in completing a questionnaire. Please know that you are not being asked for your name or other identifying information when you complete the questionnaire so no one will know that you filled it out.

Before you fill out the questionnaire, let me tell you what the study is about. The researcher is interested in finding out the extent of domestic violence within the immigrant Indian and Pakistani Communities in the United States and she also wants to know what factors impact risk for domestic violence within this population.

Can you help us?

First here is the consent sheet (give her a copy and read it to her) read it over and let me know if you have any questions.

(after she signs it), Here is a copy of the consent for you, if you want it.

Here is the questionnaire (give her the questionnaire). If you have any questions, let me know.

(After she fills it out) Here is a copy of a resource sheet. It lists national, state and local domestic violence agencies, including 24 hour hotlines in the event that you or someone you know needs assistance from domestic violence. All agencies are available to provide you with assistance. Agencies that specialize in providing services to Asian women are also listed.

Thank you so very much for your time in filling out this survey. Know that your responses will be kept confidential and will help many women, particularly those who are being abused and it will help the agencies that provide services to the abused women.

If you have any questions or concerns, please feel free to call the principal researcher on this project at the number on the consent sheet (or write it on a separate piece of paper for them).

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APPENDIX G

Revised Conflict Tactic Scale Questions on the Survey

Negotiation Scale (6 items)

Question # on the Survey
12
13
14
15
16
17

Psychological Aggression (8 items)

Question # on the Survey
18
27
29
32
38
45
46
47

Physical Assault (12 items)

Question # on the Survey
19
20
23
25
28
31
33
35
36
40
43
49

Sexual Coercion (7 items)

Question # on the Survey
22
24
37
39
42
44
50

Injury (6 items)

Question # on the Survey
21
26
30
34
41
48

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VITA

NAME: NAJMA M. ADAM, M.A., Ph.D.

EDUCATION:

Ph.D.	University of Illinois at Chicago, Jane Addams School of Social Work, Chicago, Illinois, 2000.
M.S.W.	University of Chicago, School of Social Service Administration, Chicago, Illinois, 1990.
B.S.W.	Bloomsburg University, Department of Social Work, Bloomsburg, Pennsylvania, 1988.

RESEARCH:

Research Assistant	University of Illinois at Chicago, Jane Addams College of Social Work, August 1996 to Present.

TEACHING:

Teaching Assistant.	University of Illinois at Chicago, Jane Addams College of Social Work, August 1999 to May 2000.

PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS:

National Association of Social Workers
Council on Social Work Education

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